



THE HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF

ALFRED THE GREAT

BY

J. H. M. J. H. M. J. H. M.

Judge of the Court of King's Bench

Printed by J. H. M. J. H. M. J. H. M.



AN  
HISTORICAL  
PREFACE  
TO  
*Primitive Christianity reviv'd.*

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WITH AN  
APPENDIX

Containing

An Account of the AUTHOR'S  
*Prosecution at, and Banishment from the*  
*University of CAMBRIDGE.*

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By WILLIAM WHISTON, M. A.

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Joh. VII. 24.

*Judge not according to the Appearance, but judge  
righteous Judgment.*

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THE

HISTORICAL

PREFACE

AND

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CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S  
EXPERIENCES AND OBSERVATIONS  
DURING HIS RESIDENCE AT  
CAMBRIDGE.

BY WILLIAM WILSON, M.A.

AND  
LONDON

Printed for the Author, and sold by the  
Booksellers, in the Strand, and in the  
City.



To the Most Reverend

**T H O M A S**

Lord *Archbishop* of CANTERBURY,

PRESIDENT;

And to The Right Reverend

**The BISHOPS**

Of the same Province,

His GRACES Suffragans;

And to the Reverend

**The CLERGY**

Of the Lower-House

In CONVOCATION Assembled :

THIS

**Historical Preface**

is Humbly Dedicated,

And the P A P E R S therein refer'd to

with all due Submission Offer'd

to Their, and the Publick serious

CONSIDERATION, By

*The Author.*

J. W. O. W. T.

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An Historical

P R E F A C E

T O

Primitive Christianity reviv'd.

**T**H E Assertions contain'd both in my *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, and in my *Account of the Primitive Faith*, to say nothing here concerning the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Ignatius*, are so strange, and so contrary to the general Belief of Christians in these latter Ages; that it will not be improper to give some Account by what Methods, and on what Occasions the several Particulars were discover'd, and the whole brought to its present State. For tho' the *One* vindicates an Original Divine and Sacred Book of our Religion; and the *Other* contains, the Original Divine and Sacred Doctrines of the same; both which universally obtain'd in the first and purest Ages of the Gospel; yet are these things now so surprizing to the Ears of most Christians, even of the most learned themselves, that they do not know how to believe the former to be other than a spurious or grossly interpolated Work, and so not worthy of any great Value or Consideration among us; or the latter to be any thing else than wild and dangerous *Paradoxes*, or rather bold and pernicious *Heresies*. Now, that the Reader may come a little better prepar'd to the perusal

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usal of these Papers, and be at least satisfy'd in my Care, Honesty, and Sincerity in this whole Management, I shall here faithfully set down the History and Occasions of those Writings, and of the several main Circumstances thereto belonging; so far as my Memory, or the Original Papers now by me can enable me to do it. The Reader is therefore to know that about the Month of *February*, 170 $\frac{1}{8}$ . I was desir'd by a Friend or two to draw up such a Method, or *Directions for the Study of Divinity*, as I us'd in Conversation to propose to them and others, as the only way for the Union of Christians, and the Restauration of the Primitive Faith and Practice. This I consented to; and that the rather because I was then at liberty from those Lectures of Mr. *Boyle's* Foundation, which I had been engag'd in the foregoing Year. When I was drawing up those Papers, I enlarg'd in my first Draught more particularly upon one great Advantage of that Method I then propos'd, *viz.* That it would make us distinguish between the Articles of the Christian Faith, especially that of the ever-blessed Trinity, so far as it was *really* a part of our Religion, and believ'd by the first Christians, and so far as later Inferences and Explications had been *since* added to it. And in those first Papers, I had given some Account, how far I apprehended that Doctrine to be True and Genuine; and how far Modern, and of Mens devising. In short, I therein plainly own'd that the Original Doctrine in that important Matter was very different from the common Opinion, and was most certainly nearer that of the *Arians*, than of the *Athanasians*, and present Orthodox: Tho' I had not then examin'd the Matter so exactly as to know whether the Doctrine of that Part of the Church, which was call'd *Arian* in the fourth Century, (for those I always mean by *the Arians*; not *Arius* himself only, with a few of his particular Followers,) was *intirely* the same as to this Point, with that deliver'd  
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and believ'd in the first times of the Gospel, or not. When I had drawn up this *Advice for the Study of Divinity*, (which has been since in part made publick;) and began to speak of it to some Friends, and freely to declare my Thoughts about the Doctrine of the Trinity, I was immediately made sensible what a nice Point I was engag'd in; and what a noise, and bustle, and *odium*, and perhaps Persecution, I should raise against my self, if I ventur'd to talk and print at that rate; and how I and my Family would probably be ruin'd by such a Procedure. As to my own worldly Interest, and that of my Family, I very well knew the Duty of a Christian; and all along firmly resolv'd that such Arguments should have no Influence upon me, nor in the least discourage me from Speaking and Writing the Truths of *Christ Jesus*, when upon a through-Examination I found them to be such. However, the Consideration of the Importance of the Subject, of the deep Prejudices of the present Age, and of the great Care I ought to take, and sure Ground I ought to go upon in Points of this Nature; and withal the Consciousness that my present Thoughts were taken up, rather from my former gradual and occasional Observations in the Holy Scriptures, and in the most antient Writers, than from a direct and particular Examination of this distinct Subject in both, made me resolve to satisfy my self still more authentickly, and on set purpose to re-examine the whole Matter; not in the modern Books of Controversy, (that *grand Method of Imposition on the Christian World*); but, as before, in the Books of the New Testament, and in all the most antient genuine Monuments of our Religion now extant; that so afterwards I might either go on with Assurance, if I should find my former Opinions fully confirm'd, or else might meddle no farther, in case I should see Reason but to *doubt* concerning the Meaning of the original Doctrines of Christianity, as to these Mat-

ters ; still, all the way, resolving with my self not to make use of any vain Deductions or Philosophick Reasonings in such sacred Points of reveal'd Religion, but exactly and singly to be guided by the *Original Testimonies*, and determin my Faith and Practice as a Christian by them, and them only ; and at the same time resolving, as much as possible, to keep clear from the modern Writers, and the darling Notions of any Church or Party whatsoever ; that so my Mind might not be at all prepossess'd or by-ass'd by them. And all this I did as in a Point of great Consequence, with all possible Honesty and Sincerity of Mind, and hearty Prayers to God, that I might not be deceiv'd my self, nor become the Cause of deceiving his Church in any thing, by my Enquiries or Opinions. In this manner, and with these Resolutions and Designs, I ran over, on purpose, the New Testament, as now own'd for Canonical among us, twice ; to collect all the remarkable Texts belonging to this Matter. And in the same manner did I again read over all the known Catholick Books and Fragments, till near the conclusion of the second Century, to collect all the next most antient Testimonies relating to the same Subject ; having still, in a Paper by me, Heads for both Sides of the several Questions, *pro* and *con*, all the way. Nay, that I might be secure of not omitting any Testimonies for modern Orthodoxy, I so far dispens'd with my proposed Method, as to run over Bishop *Bull's* celebrated Work of this Nature ; and to examine his Testimonies by the Originals themselves, for more compleat Satisfaction. But about the time of my entring on this last particular Examination, I light upon a very strange and surprizing Book, I mean the Learned Mr. *Brocklesby's Gospel Theism*: where casting my Eye on a certain Place, I met with this Assertion, which was then to me very new and surprizing

*Lib. VI. Cap. 8.*  
*Se Et. 4.*

Book, I mean the Learned Mr. *Brocklesby's Gospel Theism*: where casting my Eye on a certain Place, I met with this Assertion, which was then to me very new and surprizing



surprizing, viz. " That Christ had *no human* or *ra-*  
 " *tional Soul* distinct from the *Logos* ; but that at the  
 " Incarnation the *Logos* supply'd the place of such  
 " a Soul. This *Arian* or *Apollinarian* Notion, as I  
 afterward found it to be, tho' rather hinted at by  
 him, than fully pursu'd, appear'd to me exceeding  
 considerable, and of the utmost consequence to the  
 right Understanding those truly Christian Mysteries  
 of the Incarnation and Sufferings of the Son of God :  
 and I immediately perceiv'd that, if it prov'd true,  
 it would give the greatest Light possible, not to those  
 Points only, but to the intire Subject I was then a-  
 bout ; so I resolv'd to be very Curious in my Ob-  
 servations as to that Matter in the antient Testi-  
 monies. Accordingly, I exactly noted the several  
 Passages hereto relating, as I went along, and ge-  
 nerally found them favourable to that Notion ; inso-  
 much that I began to be not a little secure of the  
 Truth of it : till coming to *Justin Martyr*, I found  
 him expressly asserting, That the intire Person of  
 Christ included a  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ , as well as the *Just. Apol. II. Sect. 10.*  
 $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , and a  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ , a *Soul*, as well as the  
*Divine Nature*, and a *Body* ; which Assertion I then  
 did not know how to reconcile with the foregoing  
 Opinion, as having yet no Notion of any more than  
 two Parts, a *Soul* and a *Body*, in human Nature, ac-  
 cording to our present Philosophy. But when, up-  
 on the Examination of that Matter, I found that the  
 antient Opinion was always, that Man was pecu-  
 liarly *compositum animal*, or a Being that contain'd  
 more Parts than Brutes, as having besides the gross  
 Body, and its  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  or sensitive Soul, a  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ , a ratio-  
 nal Soul or Spirit bestow'd upon him from above, to  
 be the  $\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\eta}\gamma\eta\mu\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ , the *Governor* of the rest, I found  
*Justin's* Testimony not to imply what it seem'd to do  
 before, but that it well agreed with the foregoing  
 Notion. Nay, what was the principal Thing of all,  
 upon the perusal of a noble Fragment of this Au-  
 thor,

Tom. II. Sect. 13.  
p. 191, 192.

thor, *De Resurrectione*, in Dr. Grabe's *Spicilegium*, I found that the very same *Justin*, who affirm'd, That Christ in his intire Person did include the *λόγος*, a *ψυχή*, and a *σῶμα*, did as expressly affirm, That Man does include just the same Number of Parts, a *πνεῦμα*, a *ψυχή*, and a *σῶμα* and that by consequence, the *λόγος* in Christ, supply'd the place of the *πνεῦμα*, or *rational Soul* in Man, without any other rational Soul at all, exactly according to the other Testimonies. I found also that *Ignatius*, in his larger Epistles, was expressly of the same Opinion; and that *Athanasius* himself, in his Book *De Incarnatione Verbi*, written before the *Arian* Controversy, appears ever to have entertain'd no other Notion of that Matter. And indeed, I cannot but look on this Discovery as one of the most certain, and most important of all others; especially as to the Points I was engag'd in, the *Trinity* and *Incarnation*. But to go on with my Narrative. When I had made my self an Index or Collection of the Places where the most material Passages relating to these Points were to be found, and had observ'd all along my Reading, that the Testimonies for *Arianism* were vastly superior in *Number*, *Plainness*, and *Antiquity*, to those which are commonly suppos'd to be for the *Athanasian* Doctrine, I went to *London*, on purpose, to shew my Papers to, and converse with some worthy and learned Persons of my Acquaintance there; who, as I knew, did already shrewdly suspect, if not know, that Part, at least, of the common Notions now current, were ungrounded and false; and were willing to examine, and be assur'd, what were really the genuine Doctrines of Christianity in these Matters. Upon this I was advis'd to take the Pains to transcribe those Testimonies themselves at large, which I before did only refer to; and was then promis'd a fair



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fair Examination and Correction of my Papers, when they should be sent up in a manner fit for the same. Upon my return to *Cambridge*, I set my self immediately to perform my Promise, and wrote out above a thousand Texts and Testimonies at large; and afterwards, in a second Copy, added several Notes for farther Illustration, and very much also for the obviating those false Reasonings or Colours which Bishop *Bull* had advanc'd. And now it was, and indeed not till now, that I had all my Evidence at once before me, and that I was able to affirm, and assuredly pronounce, that the *Arian* Doctrine was in these Points most certainly the Original Doctrine of Christ himself, of his Holy Apostles, and of the most Primitive Christians: That that sort of *Eternity* of the Son of God, of which some of the Fathers began to speak toward the latter Part of the second Century, after Philosophy was come into the Church, and of which the most doubt might arise, ( the rest of the Particulars being almost indisputable: ) was plainly, not, as we have been made to believe of late, a *real existence*, as of a Son properly *coeternal* with his Father, by a true *Eternal Generation*; but rather a *Metaphysick existence, in potentia*, or in the like higher and sublimer Manner in the Father, as his *Wisdom* or *Word*, before his real *Creation* or *Generation*: ( For both those Words are frequent in the earliest Writers: ) Which real *Creation* or *Generation* was then ever suppos'd a little before the *Creation* of the World: That accordingly, the Council of *Nice* itself establish'd no other *Eternity* of our Saviour, as all the Original Testimonies do shew. And, by the way, upon my asking the very learned Dr. *Grabe*, whether that seeming *Eternity* of the Son of God, of which some of the Antients speak, was not *prior* to his *Creation* or *Generation*? He readily own'd that it was so: And accordingly had no other way to support the ordinary Notions, but by saying that by this *Creation* or *Generation*

ration of Christ was only meant his *Emission*, or *Proceeding out* of God his Father, and *condescending* to create the World; as Bishop *Bull* and Dr. *Cave* are also forc'd to suppose. Upon which I could not but think, that if our best Writers for Orthodoxy have nothing but such poor, unintelligible, ill Grounded Evasions as these to support their Faith withal, 'tis high time to lay them all aside; and to have our Recourse to the Original Primitive Texts and Testimonies themselves for Satisfaction. However, I then also observ'd, that Philosophical Notions, deriv'd generally from the antient Hereticks, and propagated in the West, and at *Rome*, and thence to *Alexandria*, and the East; and this chiefly in the Days, and by the Means of the famous, but unhappy *Athanasius*, were the Cause of that fatal Change which was afterwards made in the Church's Faith and Practice; and that this novel Faith and Practice was the first Branch of that Antichristianism which was begun by the *old Hereticks* themselves, and afterwards started up under the Name of *Orthodoxy*; and that this Orthodoxy was not fully establish'd, nor did finally prevail over *Christendom*, but by the Means of the over-bearing Tyranny of the See of *Rome*, and those that supported it. This discovery made me reflect upon two Passages which I well remember, tho' they happen'd many Years ago. The one of the very Learned Dr. *Allix*; who being in my Hearing ask'd by Dr. *Pain*, (who was then *beginning* to see the falshood of the common Opinions in these Matters, and was in great Danger of Suffering for his Boldness in saying so;) whether there were any Instance of *Invocation* of the Holy Ghost in the three first Centuries? He readily answer'd that there was not. The other Passage was of an excellent Friend of mine whom I have not liber-



ty to name, who discoursing with my self and another Person of great Eminence about such Matters, and particularly about the then so much disputed Doctrine of the Trinity, He began with this Declaration of his Mind, "That for his part, had it not been for the Church's farther Determination, he had been contented with the *Arian* Scheme. Which words at that time a little shock'd us both: tho now I have examined that Matter to the Bottom, I am more shock'd that the same excellent Person does not more freely declare the Reasons of such his antient Sentiments, and more freely endeavour the alteration of such Things in our Church, as he cannot but know or suspect to be unsupported by the Christian Revelation in these Matters. About this Time it was also, as far as I remember, that I drew up some Questions, proper to be propos'd to the Consideration, of the Learned: which, because they are not else where inserted, I shall here set down; and thereby offer them to such their Consideration.

## P L A I N Q U E S T I O N S.

I. Where are the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost called *One God*, in the Scripture, or the most primitive Writers? I desire but one plain Instance.

II. Where is Christ said to be properly *Equal* to the Father, in Scripture or the most Primitive Writers? I desire but one plain Instance.

III. Where is Christ called by any of the known Titles or Epithets of the *Supreme God*? such as, *God the Creator*; the *Invisible God*; the *Omnipotent God*; the *Omniscient God*; the *Great God*; the *True God*, (*ἀληθινός Θεός*) the *Blessed*, or the *Blessed God*; the *Eternal God*; the *One God*; the *Only God*; the *Living God*; the *Good God*; the *God of Heaven*; the *God over all*; the *Wise God*; the *Immortal God*; the *Highest*, &c. either in the New Testament, or the most Primitive Writers? I desire a few plain Instances,

IV. Where

IV. Where do the Scriptures or most Primitive Writers say any thing of the *Substance* or *Essence* of God? and where do they affirm the Father and Son to be *Coessential* and *Consubstantial*? one plain Instance is only desir'd.

VI. By what new Revelation did the Council of *Nice* consecrate the Word *ὁμοῦσιον*, when it had been directly rejected by the Council of *Antoich* so long before?

VI. Whether it be a Sign of the sacred Authority of the same *ὁμοῦσιον*, that it was therefore introduc'd, because it was known that a great Part of the Christian Church highly disapprov'd of it?

VII. How the *Sameness* or *Equality* of the Son with the Father, which in the days of *Origen*, was barely the mistake of a few rash Christians, can now become a fundamental Article of the Christian Faith?

*Contr. Cels. L. VIII. p. 387.*

VIII. How the *Eternal Generation* of the Son of God, which was so utterly unknown at the Council of *Nice*, came to be in latter times advanc'd into a fundamental Doctrine of Christianity?

IX. How it comes to pass that the known Heresy of *Cerintbus*, indenyng the Sufferings of the *Divine Nature* of our Saviour, is now so current and Orthodox Doctrine in our Days?

X. Where is the Holy Ghost directly called *God* or *Lord*, in the Scripture, or most Primitive Writers? I desire but one plain Instance.

XI. What one Christian, till some time after the Council of *Nice*, ever ventur'd to *Invoke* the Holy Ghost? a Single Instance is here alone desired also.

XII. How it comes about that we esteem those and only those Doctrines *Orthodox* in these Matters, which are approv'd and establish'd by the Church of *Rome*? and this at a Time when Antichristianism was rising apace in her.



XIII. How it comes to pass in particular, that a Creed made under Antichristianism, and not received till it was at the height, is still the *Standard of Orthodoxy* in any of the Reformed Churches?

XIV. How the *first four general Councils* come to be so sacred and infallible; when all the succeeding ones are of so little Authority with us?

XV. Why *Athanasius* must be esteem'd almost infallible, while those much greater and more learned Men, *Origen, Eusebius, and Apollinarius* are rejected as Heretical, without Examination?

XVI. Why so many of the antient Books are lost? and in particular why almost all the *Arian and Apollinarian Writings* are utterly perish'd?

XVII. Why do we cry out against *Socinians*, for setting up *human Reasonings* against *plain Testimonies*, when so much of our Modern Belief is wholly built on *human Reasonings* against *plain Testimonies* also?

XVIII. Why do we cry out against the *Papists*, for taking away the Cup, and for Prayers in a strange Tongue, notwithstanding the Institution and Command in Scripture, while we assert that the *Father is not greater than the Son*, and that the *Son was not ignorant of the Day of Judgment*, notwithstanding our Lord's own express Declarations to the contrary?

Joh. XIV. 28.

Mat. XXIV. 36.

Mar. XIII. 32.

XIX. How the implicit Faith in general Councils, nay in *Athanasius*, and in the Church of *Rome*, as to these Matters, is consistent with the owning the Protestant Rule of Faith, the Holy Scriptures; with the Duty of all to search those Scriptures; and with our belief that the Church of *Rome* is Antichristian?

XX. Why the Disputants for the common Notions, never state and prove the meaning of the Words they use and Reason from? such as Θεός υἱός μονογενής ἀίδιος αἰώνιος ἄυχρὶ κτίσειν κτίσμα πρῶτον πῶτα γεννᾶν γεννητός γεννός. &c. nor shew that the modern Signification of them is the same in this Controversy that it was in the first  
Ages

Ages of the Gospel? especially when the whole Controversy turns upon the right stating the same?

XXI. Why the *Athanasians* so often charge the *Arians* with falsifying the Scripture, and Antient Authors, without the least proof? while tis notorious that they have themselves been so wicked in this Matter.

But to return to the Series of my History. After I had made my intire Extract out of the acknowledg'd Books of the New Testament, and of the two first Centuries, I, upon some Occasions, met with an excellent Book concerning these Matters, which is own'd to be near Seventy Years older than the Council of *Nice*, and rather earlier than the Council of *Antioch*, and which is entituled *Novatian's* Treatise of the *Trinity*: tho' the word *Trinity* be not in it; nor does it on any sufficient Evidence appear to be *Novatian's*. Upon the perusal of this noble Work, written by a learned Catholick, from the known Rule of Faith, and from the Scriptures, against some Hereticks of those times, and which is the only large and judicious Book of so great Antiquity upon that Subject now Extant in the Church; I was exceedingly pleas'd to find there, almost in every Thing the very same Account of the Original Doctrins of the Gospel, as to these Matters, which I had before learn'd and collected from the more antient Testimonies: and so I was secure, that, for the main at least, I had not mistaken the most Primitive Opinions thereto relating. But the Confirmation I received from the Book ascrib'd to *Novatian*, was nothing in Comparison of what I received soon after from this *Apostolical Constitutions*. For about the beginning of *July* this Year my Learned Friend (to whose honest, impartial, and laborious Assistance and Sagacity, I am too deeply indebted, to be ever able to make a suitable Return;) coming one Day to see me, brought along with him a Paper, wherein he had

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transcrib'd several Passages, favorable to the *Arian* Opinions from the same Constitutions: (a Work which to that Day, as far as I can remember, I had never seen in all my life) and desired me to look a little into that Book, the best Edition whereof he had gotten, and offer'd to lend me. I well remember that my first Answer to him was, that I did not care to meddle with spurious or grossly interpolated Writings; such as I perceiv'd those Constitutions were generally esteem'd to be by the Learned; but had much rather confine my self to Authors really genuine and uncorrupt. Yet upon his shewing me withal a small Prayer or Collect transcrib'd thence also; which I could not but readily own to be most pious, primitive, and affectionate in its composition; I was persuaded to borrow and peruse that Work. And indeed I do not know that I was ever so perfectly surpriz'd and mightily pleas'd in all my life: To find so compleat and large a Book, so plainly sacred, and belonging to the Companions of the Apostles, if not to the Apostles themselves; so full of the Simplicity, Piety, Honesty, Strictness, and Discipline of the most Primitive Ages; and yet so little known, and of so little esteem among us, was very amazing. Tho' indeed this disregard, as I soon perceiv'd, was principally on account of that old plain Christianity or Arianism contain'd in it, without the least Color for any of those Novel Notions or Expressions which Philosophy began to introduce in the very second Century; and which advanc'd to a mighty System in the fourth, under the Conduct of *Athanasius*. And I could hardly tell how to forgive my self as a Clergy-Man, (so I then us'd to express my self,) when I consider'd how long I had been in Holy Orders, without so much as once seeing or perusing so inestimable a Work. For I soon found that, as it does most plainly put an End to almost all the Disputes, that are now among Christians, so that,

at the lowest supposition possible, its Authority is sufficient for that purpose; and that all the Writings of these last Fourteen Hundred Years must needs be comparatively of very small Value or Consideration. Upon this, with the faithful Assistance of my Learned Friend above-mentioned, I immediately set my self to the through-Examination of the Nature and Authority of the same Constitutions, both from the *internal* Marks and Characters therein contain'd; and from the *external* Evidence, Quotations, and Testimonies of the following Writers. What was the Result of my Enquiries, and what the Authority of those Constitutions prov'd to be upon that Examination, My *Essay* upon them, which is to be the third Volume in this Collection, will shew at large; and I have already intimated in particular in one of my Letters to the Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, to be set down hereafter; whither therefore I must refer the Reader for Satisfaction. But about the Time of my setting my self to examin this Matter of the Apostolical Constitutions, it was that I ventured to apply my self, to the most Reverend the two Archbishops of this Church; to both whom I had the Honour to be known; and in two Copies of the same Letter to give them an Account what discoveries I had already made in Points of the greatest Consequence; and to beg their Advice in what Manner and Method those Discoveries might with the greatest Quiet, Peace, and Advantage, be communicated to the World, and especially to the Learned; that so upon their Examination and Corrections, an Authentick Account might be publish'd of these great Doctrines of our Religion, in the very Words of the sacred and most Primitive Writers themselves, and free from the Perversions of the Writers of Controversy. A true Copy of which Letter does here follow.



Camb. July 17. 1708.

May it please your GRACE.

Having been lately examining with all the Care, Application, and Impartiality I could, the *Original Doctrines* of Christianity, concerning the ever blessed *Trinity*, and the *Incarnation* of our Lord and Saviour, both in the New Testament, and in the most Primitive Antiquity; and having in that Enquiry observ'd, as 'tis very easy to do, that the Opinions of the *two*, and almost *three first Centuries* were very different from those of the Fourth and following ones; I think it my Duty to propose the Consideration and Examination of these Matters to the *Christian World*; but more especially to the *Protestant Churches*, because they have never yet been examin'd in any publick Manner, either at or since the *Reformation*: and because the common Doctrines appear all along to have been settled and establish'd by the *See of Rome*, and thence to have been propagat'd to the rest of the Christian World. It seems to me plain, that the *Scripture*, the *Apostolical Fathers*, and, in the main, the *second Century* do agree in the explication of these sacred Doctrines. Nay even the Body of the Christian Church appears to have been of the same Opinions so low as the *Council of Antioch* itself, in the latter part of the *third Century*, abating only one or two particular Persons, (contradicting themselves) and such Parts of the Church as were under the influence of the *Bishops of Rome*; who, ever since the Days of Pope *Victor*, have taken upon them to be the Arbitrators of these and other Controversies among Christians. I hope your Grace will believe that I am *honest* and *sincere* in my *Intentions*; and that if I were not fully convinc'd of the great *Importance* of what I have to propose, I would not trouble your  
Grace

Grace, or the World, in this Matter. I am sure I have no Difficulty upon me in believing *Mysteries*, whenever I find them reveal'd by God. Nor have I the least Design to detract from the great Dignity of, or from the Divine Worship due to the Son of God, and the Blessed Spirit; on whose *Redemption* and *Sanctification* all my own Hopes of Salvation are entirely grounded. But I cannot easily believe that the Doctrine of the *Fourth* and following *Centuries*, I mean that which at length prevail'd in them, can be purer than that of the two first; that *Vigilius Tapsensis*, *Athanasius*, or *Councils* themselves can *make Articles of Faith*, or that their *late Authorities* can excuse me, or any honest Christian from examining and embracing that *Original Faith*, which was once deliver'd to the *Saints*, and receiv'd in the first Ages of the Gospel. As to the most proper *Method* of proposing these Matters to the Publick, I shall have the greatest Deference for your Graces Judgment and Directions, and those of my Lord Archbishop of *York*; who, as the principal Guides of this Church, have a just Right to be consulted in Matters of this Nature and Moment. For my own part, I not only believe, but know, that, for the main, what I affirm to have been the antient Doctrine, is so; having examin'd all the certainly genuine and most antient Books and Fragments hitherto publish'd. I have also a pretty compleat *Collection of the Testimonies* by me, and a short *Chronological Account* by what Steps the Primitive Faith was gradually either alter'd or improv'd, till it came to the Model of the Creed of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, the *Standard of Modern Orthodoxy* in these Matters. So that I think my self in some measure prepar'd to give an Authentick Account of the Faith of the *two First Centuries*. Nor do I find any plain Testimonies to be alledg'd on the other Side. But then, because in some particulars I may easily have made Mistakes, or Omissions; because, as a peaceable Member of  
and



this Church, I ought to consult its Unity and Quiet<sup>t</sup> as much as possible ; and because, if it may be, I would have this Matter calmly and fairly debated and settled by the Learned, before it comes into the Hands of the Ignorant ; Upon all these Accounts, I humbly propose it to your Graces Consideration, what Way I should take in the particular Management of this Matter ? My own Thoughts are, that it might be convenient to have some Copies transcrib'd, or rather a few Printed, for the Use of the Learned. But, if any other Method shall be propos'd, which may better attain the same Ends, I shall very readily comply with it. I am aware that several political or prudential Considerations may be alledg'd against either the doing this *at all*, or at least the doing it *now*. But then, if the sacred Truths of God must be always suppress'd, and dangerous Corruptions never inquired into, till the *Politicians* of this World should say it were a *proper Time* to examin and correct them, I doubt it would be long enough e're such Examination and Correction could be expected in any Case. I think my self plainly *oblig'd* in point of *Duty* to communicate my Collections to the publick Consideration ; and therefore from this *Resolution* in general no worldly Motives whatever, by the blessing of God, shall dissuade me. But, as to the particular Propositions themselves when they are sent, your Grace will please to look upon them as a somewhat hasty Account, I do not say of *mine own* Opinions, for *they* are of small Consideration, but of the Opinions of the *two first Centuries of the Church of Christ*, ready for all well-grounded Alterations, Corrections, and Improvements, if my own farther Enquiries, or the Suggestions of the Learned, shall make any of them necessary hereafter. I most humbly crave your Graces Pardon for the great freedom and boldness of this Address ; with the continuance of that candid and favourable Opinion of me, my

Intentions, and Labours, which hitherto your Grace has been pleas'd to afford to,

[ *I have sent the same Letter to the Archbishop of York.* ]

Your obliged and most obedient Servant.

W I L L. W H I S T O N.

Soon after the Receipt of this Letter, both the *Archbishops* were so fair and kind as to return me their several Answers. True Copies whereof do here follow.

S I R,

*Lambeth, July 24. 1708.*

I received your Letter; but cannot judge of your Work therein mention'd without perusing it; And I had rather at first see it in Writing than in Print. Perhaps your second Thoughts may be different from your first, after you have drawn them out, and laid them before others, and they have given you their Opinions upon them. Amongst them it seems to me very proper to consult the Learned *Bp. Bull*, who hath shewed himself a great Master in this Argument. For my self, when I see your Scheme, I shall freely and without byass give you my poor Thoughts of it. May the God of Wisdom guide us all, in all our Researches, and make us wise to Sobriety. I am

S I R,

Your loving Brother,  
C A N T E R B U R Y.

*Dear Sir,*

*Bishops-Thorp Aug. 6. 1708.*

I had the favour of your Letter above a Fortnight ago. I earnestly beg your Pardon for not sooner returning my Thanks to you for it; which I certainly had done, had not something or other continually hap-



happen'd when I design'd it. I say returning my Thanks to you for the Civility you express to me in that Letter ; For as for giving an Answer to it, I profess I am not able. I must own I do by no means approve of the Design which you tell me in your Letter you are upon ; (as thinking that, if you do pursue it, you will do a great deal more hurt to the Christian Religion among us than you will do good ; ) and being of this Opinion, to be sure I can give you no Advice as to the Method in which you should make the World acquainted with it ; which is that you desire in your Letter. If I was able to give you any Advice it should be this, that you would lay aside this Project, at least so long as till you have had opportunity of talking freely about this Matter with your Friends at *London* ; which you may have in the Parliament-time, if you will then be so kind as to make a Journey thither. A great many things may be offer'd in Discourse, for the Conviction of either of the differing Parties, which cannot be so easily writ in Letters. I my self now think that I have as great Reason to believe that it will be a great Sin in you to disturb the Peace and Unity of the Catholick Church, by endeavouring to impose new Articles of Faith upon us about the Blessed Trinity, different from, or contrary to the Definitions of the Council of *Nice*, as you have to believe that it is your Duty to expose the *Nicene* Creed, as contrary to the common belief for almost three Centuries of the Primitive Church. But perhaps if you and I were to talk of these Matters together, we should not part at so wide a difference one from the other. I do sincerely profess that I not only love you, but have a great esteem of your extraordinary Abilities in all the sorts of Learning of which you have treated in your Books. And indeed I know no Author whose Works I read with more pleasure than I do yours : and I do likewise really believe you to be a

sincere, honest, undesigning Man. But then give me leave to add, (for I would desire that you should think me an honest Man also,) that, if you have any weakness, it is this, that you are too fond of new Notions, and oftentimes lay too great Stress upon them; at least it appears so to me. Forgive me this Freedom: I dare say you will; because it is the pure Effect of hearty Friendship and good Will to you. You seem in your Letter to intimate that you have a Collection of your Authorities and Reasons, &c. in order to your Designs already drawn up. If you have a Copy of them by you which you can spare, and would be so kind as to send it down to me, either by the Carrier, or some other safe Hand, I should own it as a very great Favour; and will return it you again as soon as I have perus'd it. By this Means I shall be the better able to form a Judgment of what you are now designing; and consequently more fit to give my opinion, when I shall have the happiness of seeing you. I heartily wish you all Health and Happiness: and I pray God most earnestly to direct you in all your Undertakings, that they may be for his Glory, and the good of his Church.

I am sincerely, with the most hearty  
Esteem and Affection,

S I R,

Your Faithful Friend,

J O. E B O R.

Upon the receipt of these kind and Christian Letters from our most Reverend Metropolitans, I resolved to comply with their Direction, tho' it was likely



likely to occasion me some farther Pains, and that of a Nature not very agreeable, I mean the repeated transcribing of Antient Greek and Latin Quotations of which more hereafter.

About this time I received a long Letter from the most Learned and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Worcester*: who had been misinform'd about me, as if I was running into *Socinianism*. So much of it as concerns these Matters I shall here transcribe, as also my Answer, so far as it belongs thereto.

S I R, Hartlebury, July 30. 1708.

I have been very much grieved for your sake; and much more on the Churches Account; to see that one with whom I had so great a Friendship, and of whom I expected so much good, as I reasonably might (knowing the good Parts that God had bless'd you with, and the honest Zeal you seem'd to have, to employ them for the Glory of God, and the Service of his Church,) should suffer himself to be carried away as you have been by an extravagant Fancy, greedily set upon hunting after Novelties, into things not only untrue, but also hurtful in every Book that you have published of late Years. And now at last, to my great grief, I hear you are running into *Socinianism*; and are about to publish a Book of that Sort. Which if it be true, will make it necessary for me to break Friendship with you once for all. For after that I cannot but look upon you as a Subverter of Souls, and an Enemy to the Church of Christ. God forbid it should ever come to this! — God knows I desire nothing else but your good, and to keep you from doing Hurt to the Church. I beseech God that these Notices I have given you may have the effect that I design by them. I am

S I R, Your sincerely affectionate  
Friend and Servant in *Christ*,

W. W O R C E S T E R.

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To

To which Letter I immediately reply'd in this Manner.

*My very good LORD,*

Aug. 26. 1708.

I received the last Night your Lordships kind and Christian Admonitions; and your reasons against one Proposition in my *Harmony*. I have some cause to be surpriz'd at both. As to your Lordships Admonitions I take them very kindly: but must beg Leave to say the main Foundation of them is not true, *viz.* that I am going over to *Socinianism*: to which I have not the least Disposition, nor ever had in my Life. I own my self not satisfy'd with the Creed of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, and some other novel Notions, which were introduc'd long after the first Times of the Gospel. But that I might go upon sure Grounds, as to my Determination in such matters, I have made an Extract of almost all the Texts of Scripture, and most ancient Testimonies relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, under their several Heads, and, without any Hypothesis at all of my own, have exactly followed those ancient Testimonies. And that the World may be no longer impos'd on by the partiality and unfairness of Writers of Controversie, I design to publish that original Collection in the Authors own Words, with a very few Notes or Observations as I go along. If the common Doctrines disagree with those Texts and Testimonies, they ought certainly to be discarded. If they agree, my Book will be an unanswerable Vindication of them. And it would make an honest Man amaz'd to see what Fears and Jealousies are conceiv'd from so fair and unexceptionable a Method as this is. Good My Lord, let us once act like Christians, concern'd for the *Faith once delivered to the Saints* by our Saviour and his Apostles; and not like Men ready to maintain all the Corruptions which *Pagan Philosophy* and *Anti-*

*christian*



*christian Tyranny* have brought in and impos'd upon the Church since the first Ages. I plead for nothing but this; and beg that the Texts of Scripture and Testimonies of Antiquity may be heard *by themselves*, without the Colours and Sophistications of Writers of Controversie. And I venture to say that they are, in the main, plain and intelligible to honest and impartial Minds; as will appear on their Publication; and yet not a little different from the Notions that pass current among us, and have been deriv'd to us from the Antichristian Church without Examination. — Your Lordship must allow me to govern my own Sentiments and Practices by my own Judgment and Enquiries; and not expect that Modern Authority must serve instead of Original Evidence with me, whatever it does with others in most Cases. And if this be esteem'd Pride, and Vanity, and Obstinacy, and Heretical Pravity, I must be contented with those Imputations; having an assured Hope that the just Judge of all the Earth will one day acquit me, whatever the Passion or Prejudice of Man may now think of, or do to me. I sincerely enquire after, and honestly embrace all the Truths of God, which I find either in Scripture, or the first Writers. But when I see Corruptions plainly *come in*; when I saw *how* they came in, and *when* they came in; when I see *by what Authority* they were establish'd; and by what *forbidding*, or *dropping*, or *corrupting* the antient Records of our Religion they have been so long continued, I cannot hold my peace, lest I myself be condemned for my Silence and Hypocrisie another Day. Your Lordship is so great a Master of the most antient Fathers, that I shall wonder if my Collection out of them should be thought of any dangerous consequence by your Lordship. And I hope the Apostolical Constitutions, *Novatian's* Account of the ancient Doctrines of the Tri-

nity and Incarnation, and the most Primitive Fathers in particular, are by Providence preserv'd on purpose to retrieve to the Church the truly Primitive Faith, and Practice and Discipline; that when our Saviours Kingdom begins, it may be establish'd upon the very same Foot whereon it was originally settled in the first Times of the Gospel. I am with all Respect, Duty, and Observance,

Your Lordships most obedient  
Son and Servant.

WILL. WHISTON.

To this Letter my Lord Bishop of *Worcester* was pleas'd to answer in a little Time. Such Parts of which his Second Letter, as concern the present matter, I shall here transcribe.

S I R,

*Hartlebury-Castle Sep. 8. 1708.*

Your Letter of *August 26.* came to me not till *Sunday* the fifth Instant: and then having several Letters of business to write by the *Monday-Post*, I was constrain'd to put off the answering of yours to the present. But I cannot answer it now as I would if I had Time to consider. For, to do any thing to the Purpose, I must have more Time than Men of quicker Parts need. God help me, my Parts have been always very slow, and are so now more than ever, by reason of my Age; and will be more and more so to the End of my Life. But to husband the little Time I have to write by this Post, I will shorten my Work, and speak of nothing more than the Things I find in your Letter. ——— In the account you are pleas'd to give me of the Work you are about, I am glad to see this in the first Place, that you are no *Socinian*. God be thanked for that.



that. But then you own yourself not to be satisfied with the Creed of *Vig. Taps.* and some other Novelties. By the Creed of *Vig. Taps.* I suppose you mean the Confession of our Christian Faith which is commonly called the Creed of *St. Athanasius*. That, you know, is the Title that is given it in our Liturgy. But what then are those other novel Notions, as you call them? are they likewise such as are own'd by our Church? if they are not, I have no more to say to them in this Place. But if they are, then I have the same to say for them, as I have for the Creed above-mention'd. I am heartily sorry for that which you say, that you are not satisfi'd with them. But if that be all, you may keep your dissatisfaction to yourself; if you find it very uneasy, you may try how it may be remov'd by Reading, or Conference, or the like; always joined with prayer to God, *Eph. III. 15.* And, if you are sure you are in the right in any matter, wherein you have the Churches Judgment against you, yet you should be very careful not to break the peace of the Church by writing against it. If it were but one Brother that would take Hurt by your writing, the Apostle saith, *It is not good to venture That, Rom. XIV. 21.* even though you know you are in the right: for, as it followeth, *hast thou Faith? have it to thyself.* How much more when the peace of Church you are of, is to be broke or weakned by it? I know nothing can excuse you from this, unless the Church holds some *damnable* Error; and that in the Case you are speaking of, must be such an error as the Church hath been in ever since the third Century. Can you think this is possible? I am sure it is very unlikely. What? that any part of the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints hath been lost ever since the *Nicene* Times; and had been so still, but that my Friend *Mr. Whiston* hath found it? Believe this who will; for my part, if my Friend were an Angel, I should not believe it. Pray, my  
Dear

Dear Friend, be not over-fond of this *Fœtus* of your Brain, as you will be surely tempted to be, because it is yours. But pray get some thinking judicious Friends well to view it, and to judge whether it be fit to be rear'd : if they advise you against it, if they tell you it will surely do mischief; do not think much to bury it; do it even for His sake that kept in many Truths till his Disciples *should be able to bear them*, *Joh. xvi. 12.* It is the Advice and very earnest Request of,

S I R, Your truly affectionate  
Friend and Servant.

W. W O R C E S T E R.

My Answer to this, as I find upon the Review, was rather too sharp, and so unbecoming as to the Stile, which I am very sorry for : but because it is designed to recommend the sacred Truths of Christianity; and because the Nature of this Account requires me to give a true Copy of it without amendments, I shall here transcribe it exactly.

*My very Good LORD,* Camb. Sept. 18. 1708.

I received your Lordships Letter in Answer to mine : and I confess, My Lord, I am not a little Surpriz'd at the Contents of it. ——— As to my present Design, your Lordship amazes me in intimating your own Satisfaction with the Creed of *Vigilius Thapsitanus*. One that knows the Original State of Christianity so well as your Lordship might as well say the same of the Worship of Images, but that violent prepossession for what is in the Church hinders the plainest Truths from being  
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believ'd. That Creed is most evidently a gross Corruption, compos'd under, and establish'd by the Antichristian Church; and a great shame to all Protestants that 'tis not yet excluded. But that is only one Point. My design is general, to give an Authentick Account of the most Primitive Faith in these matters in the very Words of Scripture, and the first Writers. And if persons of your Lordships Character shall discourage this honest and Christian Design, I shall be obliged to let all the Church see how grossly they have been impos'd upon, by putting all the Testimonies into *English*. Give me leave to reason freely with your Lordship, because it is in behalf of the Original Christian Faith, against the Corruptions of Philosophy and Tyranny: *Pagan Philosophy*, and *Antichristian Tyranny*. What is Popery and Priest-craft if this be not so? to suppress or corrupt the ancient Books: to vouch spurious or suspected Authorities: to make Metaphysical Niceties, Articles of the Christian Faith: to overlook or evade express Testimonies: to put forc'd and absurd Interpretations on the plain Words of Scripture: to lay aside the undoubted Genuine work of *Clemens Romanus*, I mean the *Apostolical Constitutions*; and the Original Jewish and Gentile Liturgies contain'd in the seventh and eighth Books of it; in comparison of which, all the Books of Divinity now extant, excepting the sacred ones, are inconsiderable: and all this for fear of the Imputation of *Arianism*, *i.e.* because we dare not own the plain Truths of God when they lie under the Odium of Men. Good My Lord, what is the Duty of honest Men, of good Christians, of Clergy-men, of Bishops of the Church in this case? Your Lordship is too well acquainted with the first Books of our Religion not to guess in part at my meaning. And if you could have laid aside Prejudice for the present Establishment, must have seen long since that the  
modern

modern Notions are and only can be supported by the former Methods. And can your Lordship in Conscience go on to support them? Dare your Lordship discourage this honest Attempt to correct them? I take the most peaceable and prudent Method I can of proposing these things to public *Examination*: and I hope to have a Copy ready for your Lordships perusal and correction in a short time. But as to the Thing it self, I am resolv'd by the Grace of God to propose it to the World; and am so fully assur'd in the main of the Truth and Importance of these things, that I am resolv'd to endeavour their corrections; and if Occasion require, to perish in the Attempt. And if such as your Lordship, who are bound by all the ties of Truth, Sincerity, and Christianity to assist and support me, do on the contrary, discourage and reject me, I must appeal to the Justice of an higher Tribunal to judge between us. I have written to both the *Archbishops*, and am preparing two Copies for them; One of which I will endeavour may be sent to your Lordship. As to my self, upon a through Examination, I am satisfy'd that the common Doctrines have no more Foundation in genuine Antiquity, than Purgatory and Transubstantiation: and I fully believe are the first part of the Antichristian Corruptions: in casting out of which therefore I have all the Reason in the World to expect your Lordships Concurrence. And since your Lordship is so thoroughly sensible of the Antichristianism of Popery, I would fain know how the *Consubstantiality* and *Coequality* of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son, on which soon followed his *Invocation*, which only stands upon *one Letter* of Pope *Liberius* or *Damasus*, can by your Lordship be look'd on under any other Denomination? That wicked State arose very gradually: and I fear the Reformed Churches have not yet cast out all the Reliques of it till this Day. Your Lordship will forgive the boldness of this Address, on Account of the

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Importance of the Points concern'd, and of your Lordships Knowledge of the Sincerity of the Proposer, who is with great Submission and Respect,

Your Lordships most obliged  
and obedient Son and Servant

W I L L. W H I S T O N.

To this Letter I received no Reply till the following *April*: when his Lordship was pleas'd to send me a very long Letter; relating chiefly to some other debates between us. What therein directly concerns this Matter I shall here transcribe.

S I R,

In your Letter of *September* 18. you tell me you were not a little surpris'd at the Contents of my second Letter. I assure you I am very much grieved, at what I read in your Answer to it. There are such Things as would dishearten me from writing to you any farther concerning these Matters; but that the Matters themselves are such as are of very great Concern to the Christian Faith, and to the Peace and Unity of the Church. These great and publick Concerns are much endanger'd by your excessive gratifying of your Love of Novelty. It is plainly Natural to you, as all your Friends too well know. But to our greater sorrow it is visibly grown, and daily increases, by your indulging your self so much in it. When you came first to publish this in Writing of Books you began with Philosophical Matters: From thence you went on to Scripture-History: and from thence to the Prophecies of Scripture. Now at last you are come to Matters of Faith. Wherein I doubt not to find you are as grossly mistaken as I am sure you are, and I will prove it to you in every one of the Books you have publish'd

publish'd hitherto. I except only your first Book, because in that, as I understand, Mr. Keill has taken you to task, and I am told he handles you somewhat severely. With what Justice he does it I leave to the Judgment of the *Virtuosi*. — My grief is much increas'd by reading those vehement Declarations you make of a full Resolution to go on in the Work, that I so earnestly desir'd you to put a stop to, till you had advis'd with your Friends. And, as it were on purpose, to take away all hope of your hearkning to any Advice, you tell me, *If this proceeding of yours be esteemed Pride, and Vanity, and Obstinacy, and Heretical Pravity, you must be content with those Imputations.* Would to God there were no Occasion for any of these. Indeed I cannot charge you with Pride and Vanity in any other Instance than what I have met with in your Writings. But I cannot deny that in them I have seen so much Appearance of these things, that I know not how to excuse you from either of them. And therefore there being great Reason to believe, that there must have been some Sins of Yours that have provoked God to send this heavy Judgment upon you, in suffering you to write and publish such Things as you have done, and are now doing, and knowing no other Sins to charge you with but those of Pride, and Vanity, I am of Opinion that those are the very Sins that have given that Provocation to God. Pray think of it, as it highly concerns you to do, before you go any farther in the Work that you have now in your Hands. As for *Obstinacy*, and *Heretical Pravity*, I am sorry to tell you I see too much of both these in your second Letter now before me. — And if the Imputation of *Obstinacy* be just, then it highly concerns you to take heed of the last Imputation, I mean that of *Heretical Pravity*, for if that be just also, and you think to pass it over by saying as you do, *I am content to bear it, nay more, I am resolv'd to go*



on tho' I perish in the Attempt ; what will this come to at last ? I tremble to think of it ; if God should once withdraw his Grace, and give you up to him whose Work you are doing. God will defend his Church against all you can do : But for your self, if you go on, your end will be miserable. Yet I hope better ; and therefore I will endeavour to make you see whether you are going. I beseech God my Endeavours may have that blessed Effect. In what you tell me of the Work you are about, you begin with a very bold Censure of that Confession of Faith which is often us'd in our Church, and which, as I mention'd to you before, our Church saith is commonly call'd the Creed of Athanasius. You call it the Creed of Vig. Taps. though that is more than you know. But be it so. *Vigilius* was one of those Orthodox Bishops that were under the heavy Persecution of those *Arian* Kings of the *Vandals*, about A. D. 500. and then he did write Books against the reigning Heresie ; which, for concealment sake, he put out in the Name of *S. Athanasius*. Thus did some of the Jews in times of Persecution write Books against Heathen Idolatry. One that is call'd the Wisdom of *Solomon* : Another call'd the Book of *Baruch* ; whereof also part is call'd the Epistle of *Jeremiah*. I cannot commend them, that to conceal themselves used these Arts : But nevertheless their Books were highly approv'd. Insomuch that they were read by the Hellenist Jews in their Synagogues, and so coming into the Christians Hands, they were also read in Christian Churches, in and next after the Apostles times. The Censure you pass upon that Creed is in these Words, *That Creed is most evidently a gross Corruption ; compos'd under and establish'd by the Antichristian Church ; and a great Shame to all Protestants that it is not yet excluded.* This is indeed a thing not to be endur'd ; that any Member of a Christian Church, should take the Liberty to himself, to throw such a Censure upon

upon any part of its Liturgy, especially on a Confession of Faith that is enjoyn'd by Authority to be us'd in the publick Offices of the Church ; and not only so, but to cry Shame upon the Church for continuing it. All that can be said for you in this Case, is only that you do it in a private Letter to a Friend, acquainting him with your Opinion of the Thing, and your Reason for it ; promising you will publish nothing of your Opinion, nor of your Reasons, till first you have communicated them to the two *Archbishops* of this Church. Upon these Terms I go on with you ; and come to consider the particular Things that you object against the Confession of Faith, and consequently in the Prayers of our Liturgy. I find them toward the end of your second Letter in these Words ; There, speaking of the Antichristian Corruptions, you say, *I would fain know how the Consubstantiality and Coequality of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son, in which soon followed his Invocation, which only stands upon one Letter of Pope Liberius or Damasus, can be look'd upon by your Lordship under any other Denomination.* To this Demand of yours I shall give you my Answer in as few Words as I can. First, for the *Doctrine of the Consubstantiality and Coequality of the Holy Ghost to the Father and the Son,* I take it to be part of the Creed which our blessed Lord gave us in his Form of Baptism. He commanded us all to be Baptized, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* God was pleased, when our Saviour himself was baptized, to make a visible and audible Appearance of three Persons concern'd in his Baptism. Our blessed Saviour gave a plain Intimation of the same Three, at the Entrance upon his Prophetick Office, *Luke iv.* He declared them more than once in his last Discourses to his Disciples ; tho' as yet he could speak to them no more than their Weakness would bear. *John xvi. 12. 25.* *St. John.* tells in his Gospel what  
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he heard our Saviour say to the Jews. *John* x. 30. *I and my Father are One, ἐν ἑσμέν.* The same Apostle tells us in his Catholick Epistle, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, *These three are One, οἱ τρεῖς ἓν ἓσμέν.* 1. *John* V. 7. These last words are quoted by *Tertullian*, that wrote toward the end of the second Century, within an Hundred Years after the Death of that Apostle. They are quoted also by *Cyprian* that wrote about the middle of the third Century; and after them by many other of the *African* Fathers. If you doubt whether these were the Words of the Apostle, You may see it prov'd by many Learned Writers, and particularly by *Dr. Mills*, in his various Readings on that Text. It is evident that not only those Fathers themselves did not doubt but that *St. John* wrote those Words, but that neither did those that they wrote against, question it. For those Fathers did not only quote those Words, but they argued from them; which had been ridiculous if there had been any doubt of the Text. Particularly *Tertullian* urges it against *Praxeas*, cap. 25. *Qui Tres unum sunt, non unus*, as *Praxeas* would have it. This I take to be a sufficient Proof of the Unity of the Three Persons in the Divine Nature: and I think there needs no other Proof of their *Consubstantiality* and *Coequality*. For the *Invocation* of the Holy Ghost which you say *only stands on one Letter of Pope Liberius or Damasus*, I can't imagin whence you had this. For I know of no Letter of either of those Popes that has any thing of this Invocation. My ground for it is what I have shew'd you: The Holy Ghost is God, and therefore he is to be prayd to. There can be nothing plainer than this. But if you would have Practice for it too, you may see it in *St. Paul* the Apostle; who as he concludes his other Epistles with a Prayer to our blessed Saviour, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all*; so he concludes his second Epistle to the *Corinthians* with a Prayer to the ever blessed

blessed Trinity, 2. Cor. xiii. 14. *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.* First, the Apostle applies to our Lord Jesus Christ, for the Grace of his Redemption and Intercession. Then to our Heavenly Father, for his Love to us as his Children by Adoption. Then to the Holy Ghost, for his *κοινωνία*, the communication of his Gifts. I know some have said that all this is only so many Wishes. It is true: and so are commonly the Prayers of Superiours for them that are under their Charge. Such were the Blessings of Jacob to the two Sons of Joseph. Gen. xlviii. 15. 16. Such were the Priests Blessings to the People of Israel. Num. vi. 23. 26. They were Blessings to the People, but they were Prayers to God. That Blessing of St. Paul to the Corinthians had three Comma's in it; of which each was a Prayer, specifying first the thing that he desir'd, and then the Person from whom it was properly to be receiv'd. I have shew'd this before in a sort of Paraphrase on the Words, and therefore I think I need not shew it again more particularly. What Forms of Prayer were us'd in the Church in the Apostles times we have no Account of: and indeed very little of any that were us'd in those Times which you call *Genuine Antiquity*. You perhaps may expect I should ask your Pardon for saying this, after you have told me that the Original Jewish and Gentile Liturgies are contain'd in the vii. and viii. Books of the Apostolical Constitutions. But as to these you must give me leave to be of another Opinion, for Reasons that I shall shew you. I do a little wonder indeed why you should so much concern your self for them: for to me they seem to be plainly against you in this Point, of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost. There are in the 8th Book before-mention'd, at least a Dozen Doxologies, to all three Persons in the Holy and Blessed Trinity. In every one of these three is expressly



presly given, to the Father, together with the Son,  
 and the Holy Ghost, all Honour, Glory, Praise,  
 Thanksgiving, Worship, and Adoration, *οἷα καὶ προσ-  
 κύνησις*, as I remember are the Words. Could any  
 one say this without believing the Consubstantiality  
 and Coequality of the Holy Ghost with the Father  
 and the Son? I am sure none can reasonably deny  
 Invocation to one to whom these Things are due.  
 Therefore they that made these Prayers were surely  
 of the Faith that is profess'd in the Creed of our  
 Communion Service; where we say *I believe in the  
 Holy Ghost ----- who together with the Father and the Son  
 is worshiped and glorified.* This Creed in common  
 speaking is call'd the *Nicene*. But that has not the  
 last clause that I quote here; for this clause was ad-  
 ded to the *Nicene* Creed in the second general Coun-  
 cil, that of *Constantinople*, *A. D.* 381. But for ought  
 I know, that second Council was Antienter than  
 the Time of making those Forms, which you call  
 the *Original Jewish and Gentile Liturgies*. As for those  
 Liturgies we know no more when they were made,  
 than we know who were the Authors or Compilers  
 of them. Nor do we know any thing more of those  
 pretended Apostolical Constitutions. Only this we  
 know, that the makers of these Constitutions, were  
 such as made no Conscience of abusing the Names  
 and Authorities of the Apostles of Christ. I cannot  
 think of it without Indignation; how they made  
 them their Puppets to say whatsoever they were  
 pleas'd to say in their Names. Some indeed of the  
 Things they made them say, were such as the  
 Apostles had said in their Writings. Other Things  
 they said, were agreeable enough to their Writings:  
 such Things they must take in for their own Credit.  
 But other things they made them say, that were very  
 disagreeable, and some plainly false, and inconsistent  
 with what we have in the Scripture. It is hard to  
 guess what they should drive at in their writing of

such Things. But, if it were only to get Money by publishing such Books as they knew all Men would be ready to buy, there was a double Wickedness in it; The abusing those Sacred Names which they assum'd; and the cheating of them that bought their counterfeit Wares. It is plain that the Writers were in hast to have their Books out, by the Blunders they made in many Places, where they wrote Things only out of Memory, and could not stay to correct them by turning of Books. It were endless for me to go about to reckon up all the Instances I could give you of this Kind. But I will lay two or three of them before you; by which you may judge of the rest. My first Instance shall be out of Constitut. Apost. v. 14. There the Impostor brings in St. *John* the Apostle to give an Account what he saw, being present all the Time of the Passion of Christ. You rightly observe of St. *John*, Harm. 113, 114. *How studiously and punctually in his Gospel he avoids repeating what was in the other Gospels; and yet supplies their Omissions and Methodises their Histories.* Accordingly in his History of the Passion of Christ, *John* xviii. 13, &c. he tells us diverse Things which none of the other Evangelists had written. He tells us how they took our Saviour, led him first to *Annas*, who sent him immediately to *Caiaphas* the High Priest. He tells us how *Peter* follow'd him to *Caiaphas* his House; and so did *John* the Apostle himself, who being acquainted there, got the door-Keeper to let in *Peter*. He tells us how this gave Occasion for *Peters* thrice denying of Christ: after which the Cock crew. All this St. *John* in his Gospel accounts for very particularly. He also tells us there how the High Priest having examin'd our Saviour concerning his Disciples and his Doctrines, Our blessed Lord told him, that as to these Things, being such as were publickly known, there could not want Witnesses enough: and therefore there ought to have been Witnesses examin'd  
against



against him, and not he to be interrogated against himself. *John* tells us how thereupon one of the Officers buffeted our Saviour, who answer'd him with a most suitable reproof. Then *St. John* tells us how they led the Blessed Jesus from *Caiaphas's* House to the *Prætorium*; and so he goes on to other Things which I have no Occasion to repeat. All this exactly answers the Character you gave of *St. John's* way of writing in his Gospel. But plainly this Impostor never troubled himself to look into that sacred Book, and to take things from thence into the Account that he pretends the Apostle to have given of our Saviour's Passion; as he would certainly have done, if he had meant honestly in it; But he makes the Apostle say such Things as he had ready for him in his Memory. Some little Raggs he has out of *St. John's* Gospel; to which he pieces Things out of the other three Gospels; not regarding how they agree with one another. For example, He makes his *St. John* say that they that had taken our Saviour brought him to the House of *Caiaphas*. He has not a Word of *Annas* in this Place, where *St. John* first mentions him. But he goes on and tells us how to *Caiaphas's* House the *Sanhedrin* came together; and how there they abus'd our Blessed Saviour, scoffing at him, reviling him, spitting at him, boxing him, beating him, &c. he tells us, thus they spent their Time *ὡς ἄρα ἔδειξεν Καθώς, till it was broad day.* (Not a Word of their eating the Passover.) Then he makes his Puppet tell us how they led Christ away to *Annas*; which quite breaks *St. John's* Measures. There, at *Annas's* House, he makes his Puppet tell us there was another Scene of such like actings for a while, before they delivered our Blessed Saviour to *Pilate*. Then this Jugler makes his Puppet tell us how our Saviour being now before *Pilate* there they brought in against him two false Witnesses. Of these there is not a Word in *St. John's* Gospel; nor in any other,

while our Saviour was before *Pilate*. But indeed *St. Matthew* says, there were two false Witnesses brought against our Saviour when he was before the *Sanhedrin*, in *Caiaphas's* House. This was only a slip of the Juglers Memory. I will not detain you with this Stuff any longer, than to shew you how you may surely distinguish it by another of your own Observations. You have it in *Harm. p. 115*. That the three first Evangelists reckon'd their Hours by the Jewish Account, from six in the Morning, till six in the Evening : But *St. John* reckons his Hours the Roman Way, from twelve at Midnight and at Noon. According to this way of reckoning You and I understand what *St. John* tells us, *John* xix. 14. that when *Pilate* sat down on the Judgment-Seat, it was *ὥρα ἕκτη* about the sixth Hour. But how did this Jugler understand it ? Not as we do to be sure ; for he makes his Puppet say, that at the sixth Hour they crucify'd our Saviour, having receiv'd the Sentence at the third Hour. What he said of the sixth Hour we know he had from *St. John* : but what he makes *St. John* say of the third Hour, is out of his own Head. You do also rightly observe that *St. John* was very exact in methodizing the things that he found in the three former Gospels. *St. Luke* indeed takes this to himself, that he had written Things *καθ' ὡρὰς* in order as they happen'd ; so that he had no Need of any other to correct the order in which he deliver'd them. But this Impostor makes his *St. John* neglect all that *St. John* the Apostle had told us in his Gospel. Instead of that he takes up Things from the other three Gospels, as I have shewn ; and with these he goes on to the end of his History of our Saviours Passion. Particularly from the two first Evangelists he tells us how about the Ninth Hour, *i. e.* about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Jesus* cried saying, *My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me ?* *Mat. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.* He goes on and says



μετ' ὀλίγον a little after this he cryed, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* But where are we now? This which he calls *a little after*, was some five or six Hours before. For he has this out of *Luke xxiii. 34.* Where *St. Luke* tells us these Words were spoken by our Saviour on the Cross, immediately after it was set up with his Body nail'd to it: which *St. Mark* tells us *Mark xv. 25.* was at the third Hour, *i. e.* at Nine of the Clock in the Morning. But here this Impostor makes his *John* tell us it was a little after Three in the Afternoon. That must be his Meaning; for his next words are these, that *Jesus* said, *Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; and having thus said he gave up the Ghost.* which he has from *St. Luke xxiii. 46.* What an Impudent Fellow was this? to impose on his credulous Readers, and so wickedly to abuse the Holy Apostle in making them believe that he had all this from his Mouth? I should have question'd the Judgment or Honesty of his most Learned Editor *Cotelerius*, if he had let this pass without a Stricture. But he does not. For in his Note 44. which is on these very Words μετ' ὀλίγον he calls him *Pseudoclemens*: and says, *Turrianus* does in vain endeavour to excuse him. The most unpleasant Pains that I take in my Studies, is that which I bestow in the detecting of Impostures; and therefore I willingly go off from that Work. Only that I may not seem to be Singular in this Detection, I shall add what Others have observ'd of these Constitutions; and particularly what that great Man *Primate Usher* has told us in his Dissertation before his *Ignatius's* Epistles. There, cxvi. he charges this *Pseudoclemens*, as he also calls him, with κακοπλασία, wicked forgery: which he proves against him in several Instances. First, from *Const. Apost. VI. Book 12, 13, 14. Chapters:* where this pretended *Clement* brings together all the twelve Apostles, after the Council at *Jerusalem*, of which we have the History in the xv. Chapter of

Acts. There among the Twelve he brings in *James* the Brother of *John*. But of him we certainly know from *Act. xii. 1.* that he was kill'd some Years before that Council. With them this Impostor joins *James* the Brother of the Lord, and *Paul* the teacher of the *Gentiles*; as he makes them here stile him. But *St. Paul* in *Galat. 2.* Chapter giving an Account of his Business then at *Ferusalem*, does certainly shew that at that Time there was no other Apostle at *Ferusalem* but *Peter* and *John*, and *James* the Brother of the Lord. And they are the only Apostles then at *Ferusalem* that are spoken of in the History of the Council before mention'd. But for *Barnabas*, the Impostor seems to have forgotten that he was *S. Paul's* fellow-Apostle. Next from *Const. Ap.* the viii. Book the 4th Chapter where again this Impostor, bringing the same Twelve Apostles together, makes them say, *We the Twelve Apostles of the Lord being here, together with our Fellow-Apostle Paul, and James the Bishop, and the other Presbyters, and the seven Deacons with us do charge you with these Divine Constitutions.* It is certainly false that ever the Apostles at *Ferusalem* did own *Paul* to be their fellow-Apostle while *James* the Brother of *John* was living. And when they of the Twelve who were then at *Ferusalem*, who were only *Peter* and *John*, did own *St. Paul* to be their fellow-Apostle; they own'd *Barnabas* with him, as we see in *Gal. ii.* above mentioned. Again in *Const. Ap.* viii. Book *cap. ult.* This Impostor, coming to speak of Ordination, brings in the Twelve, and *Paul* with them, saying, *We Twelve Apostles were ordained by our Saviour:* (surely not at the Time spoken of in *John xx.*) Then he makes *James* and *Clement* speak for themselves, *I James was ordained by the Apostles, and I Clement, and others with us ----- and we all ordained Priests, and Deacons, and Subdeacons, and Lectors.* How this pretended *Clement* was ordained he makes *St. Peter* tell us in these Words *Const. Ap. vii. 46.* Of  
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the Roman Church the first Bishop was Linus, ---- ordain'd by Paul ; and after the Death of Linus the second Bishop was Clement ordain'd by me Peter. There is no Church-Historian that makes the Death of *Linus* to have been before *A. D.* 64. and that was full 20. Years after the Death of *James* the Apostle : yet here in the viii. Book, *cap. ult.* this Impudent Fellow takes upon him to say, *I Clement was ordained by the Apostles* ; and he said it as in the Presence of *James*, though *James* was dead 20 Years before that Ordination. There follow more Instances in that Chapter of Primate *Usher*. But these are enough to justify the Censure of that pious and learned Man, in calling the Writer of these Constitutions *Idle Impostor*, and *Larvatus Clemens*, and *Pseudo-Clemens*, as he usually does. The best Account that any one has given of these *Constitutions*, as far as I am able to judge, was given by that great Man Bishop *Pearson*, in his *Vind. Ignat.* l. 4. There he sheweth that there were anciently several spurious Books that were said to be written by the Apostles, or dictated by them to their Disciples, who put them in Writing under the Names of the Apostles ; or perhaps they were only pretended to have been received from the Disciples of the Apostles, and so have been put out under their Names. Of the first sort he is of Opinion that One was called *Ἰδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων* another *Ἰδαξίης Ἀποστόλων* and perhaps there might be several of these. Of the other sort, One was called *Ἰδαξερῆς Κλήμεντος* another *Ἰδαχὴ* of *Ignatius* : another of *Polycarp* : another of *Hippolytus* : and perhaps there were those that went under the Names of several others. The Confarinator of these, he saith, had his Choice of all these great Names. But he took a particular Fancy to that of *Clemens Romanus*, whom he plainly imitates in some little Things, not worth mentioning ; for which Bishop *Pearson* justly calls him the Ape of *St. Clement.* p. 63. l. 10. But that he should  
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put out such Stuff under the Name of *Clemens Romanus* was surely a horrible Abuse to that Holy Bishop, whom St. Paul mentions with honour in his Epistle to *Philemon*, [it should be to the *Philippians* : ] and salutes *Timothy* in his Name, in his last Epistle before his Death. [This is a mistake also, for *Linus*. ] But that these should be the genuine Work of that *Clemens*, I think never came into the Head of any Learned Man since Learning came to flourish in the World, save only such as having given up themselves to a Sect, have thought they could do great Service to their Sect by such Things as they had found in that Book. This was surely the Case of *Turrian* the Jesuit, who wrote warmly for this Opinion, because he found Things in these Constitutions which he thought might do great Service to the Roman Church. But the great Champions of that Church, the two Cardinals, *Baronius* and *Bellarmin*, having better consider'd this matter, have given them up, as more likely to disgrace their Cause than to serve it. For *Baronius*, you may find his Opinion of them in his Annals, A. D. 102. N. iv. You have *Bellarmin's* Opinion of them p. 53. &c. of the *Paris* octavo Edition of his Book *De Scriptor. Eccl.* There have been some also of the Protestant Side who, tho' not altogether of *Pseudo-Clemens* Opinion in other Things, yet finding some touches of *Arianism* in this Book, have been thereby tempted to judge it to be the Work of *Clemens Romanus*. One of these I shall name to you, *i. e.* *Christopher Sandius*, in his *Nucleus Hist.* p. 66. &c. And if you please you may see the most Learned Dr. *Bull*, now Bishop of *St. Davids*, opinion of him for it : It is in his *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ* p. 50. of Dr. *Grabe's* folio Edition. He says of *Sandius*, *Credas hominem, post fidei & bonæ Conscientiæ naufragium, pudorem quoque omnem perdidisse : quippe consentiunt Reformati Theologi omnes, neque reclamant hodie ex Pontificiis Critici Doctiores, clamant verò res ipsa Constitutiones illas Clementis non esse.* Now I see



see you are under the same Temptation that drew *Sandius* into this Opinion. For it could be certainly nothing else but that you think you have this Book on your Side for those Opinions that should make you rave at the rate that you do, in making it *Popery* and *Priest-craft* in us to lay aside the undoubtedly genuine *Work of Clemens Romanus*, I mean the *Apostolick Constitution*, and *Original Jewish and Gentile Liturgies* contain'd in the *Seventh and Eighth Books* of it : in comparison of which all the *Books of Divinity* now extant, except the *Sacred Ones*, are inconsiderable. I tell you my Opinion that this is raving. I am heartily sorry to see : and should rejoyce and bless God for it, if I could do any Thing for the Cure of it. Pray forbear publishing any Thing till I have seen you ; as I hope I may shortly at *London*, if you please. But if you go on at this Rate, I must leave you to God ; and content my self to do what I can to prevent your doing farther mischief by the spreading of your Opinions. I am

S I R,

Your much griev'd Friend,

but not yet out of Hope,

W. WORCESTER.

After this follow'd a long Appendix concerning our Saviours last Passover and Death, which was in Debate between us : which Death of Christ I had plac'd on the 15th, and his Lordship on the 14th of the Jewish Month *Nisan*. This placing it on the 15th his Lordship look'd upon as the most pernicious Mistake in my whole Harmony of the Gospels ; and by convincing me of which he was to make me sensible how unfit I was to write about the present Matters. But this Appendix, and the rest of that Nature  
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in his Lordships Papers, is so remote from the Affairs now before us ; and I am so well prepar'd to set that Matter in a clearer Light than ever upon a suitable Occasion elsewhere ; that I shall wholly omit it here. Only I must Assure the Reader that My Lords grand Foundation, is that the *Constitutions* do bring in St. *John* in particular as giving us the Relation of the Trial and Condemnation of our Saviour, is utterly groundless, and without any just Occasion from the same *Constitutions* : as he will easily see upon Examination. And I must observe to him that those few seeming smaller Differences in the Accounts, as to the Circumstances of our Lords Passion, here mention'd by the Bishop, are so far from Signs of Spuriousness in these *Constitutions*, as his Lordship supposes, that it is a great Mark of their Original Derivation from the Apostles themselves : there being still the like small Varieties in the undoubted Accounts of the Four Gospels compar'd together ; and no later Authors ever giving us the like, but all along following one or other of the Original Accounts taken from the same Gospels ; as is evident in all the later Writers. However, these Letters of my Lord Bishop of *Worcester* were esteem'd so convictive to the Reverend Dr. *Bray*, by whom they all were copied out and transmitted to me, and shewn to several Others ; and gave so great Assurance of an intire Victory over me, that my Case was, I understand, much pitied among several of my Friends at *London* ; till I sent my Answers open the same way : which were frequently shew'd in *London* also. This that follows in particular was read, I perceive, by the Lord Archbishop of *York*, and by Dr. *Hickes*. And it soon put an End to their Triumphs. It was in these Words.



*My very good LORD,* Camb. April 14. 1709.

I am very much obliged to your Lordship for the great Pains and Trouble you have been at upon my Account : and, when I have receiv'd all the Papers you intend me on my former Books, I shall consider them all carefully ; and either change my Opinions, or shew good Reasons why I cannot do it. For Evidence, true Original Evidence, I ever submit to when I see it. But Modern Opinions and Authorities, unsupported by the others, I have not the least regard to. Only, while the Original Constitution of the Apostles preserv'd by Epiphanius from his Eastern uncorrupt Copy, and made the Reason for their Rule about *Easter*, (ever observ'd by the same Apostles, as your Lordship grants,) directly affirms that Christ was crucify'd on the *fifteenth* of *Nisan*, *Hæres. lxx. §. 11. p. 823.* Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐσπερῆς τὸν χριστὸν ἐσταύρωσαν, your Lordship must excuse me if I expect very strong Demonstrations e're I alter my Opinion in that Matter, and say, he was crucify'd on the *fourteenth*. However, Good my Lord, How does my differing from your Lordships Opinion in a Point ever esteem'd so difficult by the Learned ; and in which I believe the most, and most Judicious of this Age are of my Mind, how, I say, does this affect the *Arian* Controversie ; or prove me rash, and proud, and obstinate in my Assertions on that Subject ? If indeed the Original Texts and Testimonies were as doubtful in that, as they are in this Point, I should never be so vain as to speak and to act as I do. But on a full, impartial, and honest Enquiry into those Matters I am abundantly satisfy'd that the *Arian* Doctrines are those deliver'd by our Saviour, and his Apostles, and all the first Christians, till Philosophy from the ancient Hereticks, particularly from *Tertullian*, prevail'd at *Rome*, the Seat of Antichrist ; and thence spread like a Torrent over the Christian Church. Nay,  
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were it not improper perhaps to make so bold a Challenge, I do verily believe that I might engage to burn my own Collection of the Texts of Scripture and Antient Testimonies in case any one would bring me but the *Tenth Part* of so many, so antient, and so plain Texts and Testimonies, for the contrary Doctrine now current. For Example, I have here a List by me of Twenty *Ante-Nicene* Fathers who have own'd that God *made* or *created* our Saviour ; and that our Lord is his *μινυα, κτισια, and δημιουργια,* or a Being really *created* by him, whereas I have met with none till Pope *Dionysius* who was offended at that Language. I speak of *direct Assertions and Testimonies,* not of poor *remote Inferences* from them, or from Philosophy and Metaphysicks ; which all the Heresies have ever supported themselves by. For another Instance, our Lord assures us that *His Father is greater than He :* that *He did not know the Day of Judgment :* and that *no Being but his Father knew it,* In this Case I expect Texts as plain on the other Side ; and not some poor Inferences from other Texts not near so plain, e're I at all alter my Opinion. And I wonder that your Lordship thinks to prove to me the *Consubstantiality, Coequality,* and *Invocation* of the Holy Ghost from the Form of Baptism, from that of Doxology, from a single Form of Blessing, and from an Inference utterly ungrounded and unknown to the Church in the first Ages ; since I allow that the Blessed Spirit is to be worship'd in those Forms, but never by *Invocation.* And I appeal to your Lordship whether you have the least Reason to believe that even so late as the Council of *Nice* any Christian ventur'd to *Invoke* the Blessed Spirit of God : For I own the first Instance I have observ'd is about 30 Years later than that Council. But as to the most concerning Part of your Lordships Letter, about the *Constitutions of the Apostles,* I must beg your Lordships Pardon if I speak my Mind more freely.

Your



Your Lordship makes a few, and most of them wholly ungrounded Objections against them; as never having, I perceive, particularly and fairly examin'd upon what Authority they stand, nor what Parts are Genuine, and what interpolated by the Orthodox: (for they only have been so wicked: and from their interpolations of the Original Doxologies of the Church does one of your Lordships Arguments proceed for the *Invocation* of the Holy Ghost.) As to my self, I have been for several Months, with the Assistance of a Learned Friend, examining that Matter to the Bottom; and have an Essay upon them ready for the Publick; whereby it will appear, *that* for the Main they are certainly genuine and Apostolical; *that* they are deriv'd from a second Council of the Apostles at *Jerusalem* about the beginning of *A. D.* 64. they were written at the Command of the Apostles themselves by *St. Clement*: *that* he put his last Hand to them about *A. D.* 86: *that* three several Pieces really Apostolical are inserted into the sixth Book: *that* they were by *St. Clement* sent to the Nineteen Bishops of so many Apostolical Churches, as the secret and sacred *Rule of the Faith, Worship, and Discipline of the Christian Church*, to be transmitted to all future Generations: *that* accordingly this Book was all along own'd and cited as such in all the succeeding Ages, till the Eleventh Century; When the Pope, or his Legate discarded it; and in all probability forg'd a Passage in the sixth general Council, as if it had been interpolated by Hereticks: *that* the Citations, Allusions, or Attestations in the first four Centuries amount to three or four Hundred at the least: *that Athanasius*, that grand Corrupter of the Christian Faith, cheated the poor *Ethiopians* with a miserable Extract out of it, and gave it them as the real Original Constitutions themselves; which till this Day they believe it to be: *that* when the Churches Faith and Worship were alter'd, these secret Constitutions were made publick

to all, after the middle of the fourth Century: *that* after a little Examination they were by all own'd to be really Apostolical, and to be really written by *St. Clement*: *that* they are and ever were in the Original Canon of the sacred Books of the New Testament; and were Antiently ever esteem'd of equal Authority with the rest of them: *that* the Church of *Rome*, and the West corrupted its Copy in several Points against the *Arians*, and to support her own Novel Decrees; while *Epiphanius* and all the Eastern Churches preserv'd the true and Original Reading; *that* almost all your Lordships Objections against it are taken from those Places, interpolated in the West, or at *Alexandria*; and which were otherwise in the Eastern and genuine Copies: Nay, from the old Citations may generally be restor'd at this Day. When all this appears to the World, and undeniably appears, as I hope it soon will, I believe your Lordship will alter your *Stile*, if not your *Opinion* concerning these Constitutions; and will not think Two or Three Appearing Difficulties, or seeming contradictions any more Arguments of their spurious Character, than above ten Times so many in the Books of the New Testament in our present Canon are Arguments of their Falshood and Spuriousness also. Nor, if an Interpolation or two should be still suspected, as remaining therein, after all our Endeavours to discover them, will that any more affect the Body of the Constitutions than that *gross Interpolation* in *St. John's* first Epistle does affect that whole Epistle, or the rest of the Books of the New Testament. I call it a *gross Interpolation*, whatever your Lordship thinks; to put a Verse into the Bible without any one Greek Copy, Antient Quotation, or Version till about the middle of the third Century by *Cyprian*; the Origin of which single Citation is also now so probably discover'd by the Learned: and a Verse so very disagreeable, at least as apply'd by your

Lord-



ship to the Coherence of the Place, and all the other Texts and Testimonies in genuine Antiquity. *Tertullian* plainly never saw it ; nor any one that we know besides, till it was found useful against the *Arians* : and then no Wonder at its Introduction. Let me beg of your Lordship to keep one Ear open for Antient Truth, and Genuine Christianity ; and not, like your great Predecessor, run your self aground in the Defence of Modern Corruptions ; which will soon appear utterly indefensible. I am with all due Submission and Sincerity.

Your Lordships most obedient

[*My other Papers have been long with both the Archbishops.*]

Son and Servant.

WILL. WHISTON.

The Reader is here to observe that soon after, if not before, the Date of this Letter, Dr. *Bray* receiv'd from the Archbishop of *York* his Copy of my Papers relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, to be sent to the Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, whither they were a little after sent accordingly. Yet in all this long Interval since, I have not receiv'd a Line farther from his Lordship either in Answer to my Letter, or with Relation to the other Papers. I have put all these Accounts together because they belong to my Debates with My Lord of *Worcester* ; altho' the latter Part of them are lower in Point of Time, than that whereto I had brought the present History. I return therefore to the former Series. Soon after my first Letter to our most Reverend Metropolitans and their Answers, I received two Letters from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, with whom I had the Honour of an Intimate Acquaintance many Years ; the first only in general, on Oc-

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cation

caſion of uncertain Reports concerning my Opinions, and the other after I had given his Lordſhip ſome Account of them my ſelf. I ſhall tranſcribe what is moſt Material hereto relating; which was in his Lordſhips ſecond Letter, in theſe Words.

———— I thank you for the Account you give me of the Work you have in Hand: and as I ſee no Hurt in ſuch a fair and intire Collection as you ſpeak of, ſo I ſee none of that Good you propoſe by it: becauſe People, the Learned at leaſt, will think of theſe Matters as they have done from ſuch a Peruſal of the Scriptures and Fathers, unleſs by ſome Comment of yours they are ſhewn that they ought to do otherwiſe. And when it comes to the drawing of Inferences from ſuch a Collection, I leave it to you to conſider whether it is likely that your Inference ſhould be more juſt than that which the Church in the general has ſo long acquieſc'd in, after ſo much acute Contention and Search as has been into and about theſe Matters. I think you have already ſhewn that you can Err; and that a little more Coolneſs would do you no Hurt. I cannot believe that you your ſelf think ſo well of your Deſign as that it will end all Diſputes about theſe Things, as you ſeem to expreſs. I ſhall moſt heartily rejoyce with you if it does, and bleſs God for you; as I do now pray that he would lead you into all neceſſary and uſeful Truth; for I am very ſincerely

Your affectionate

Friend and Servant.

C. NORWICH.

About the ſame Time, *i. e.* about Aug. 1708. I drew up a ſmall Imperfect *Essay upon the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*



tions, and offer'd it to the Reverend Dr. *Laney* Master of *Pembroke-Hall*, the then Vice-chancellor, for his Licence to be printed at *Cambridge*, : having taken Care that it should be as inoffensive as possible, and should contain nothing but what related to that Critical Question, whether they were genuine and sincere ; or, whether they were spurious or interpolated. The Answer I receiv'd from the Persons employ'd to carry my Essay was in these Words.

*Mr. Professor,*

*The Vice-Chancellor does not think it fit to give an Imprimatur to it ; he thinks it not Orthodox.*

Upon this I went in some Time to *London*, in order to print it there. But was delay'd by Reason of somewhat that happen'd upon the Learned Dr. *Grabe's* perusal of it, and upon my Discourse with him about it. This Matter occasion'd a current Report of my having falsely related what pass'd between us, insomuch that a Learned Foreigner, (who was desir'd by several considerable Men at *Oxford* to enquire about me, and discourse me when he came to *Cambridge*, as he did accordingly) was so Zealous for Orthodoxy as to send a particular Letter to *Cambridge*, as from Dr. *Grabe's* contrary Relation, to my Disparagement. To this Letter I immediately made my Answer. Take therefore the whole of the Matter in the very Words of this Foreigners Letter, and in my own Words, then subjoin'd thereto, as follows,

*Mr. Wilkins Letter to Mr. Hues, Fellow of Jesus-Colledge.*

*Reverend SIR,*

*Oxford Nov. 22. 1708.*

I cannot but gratefully remember the great Kindness and Civility you have been pleas'd to bestow

on me when I was at *Cambridge*: so that in a great Measure I profess my self to be in your Debt: which that I may pay, your self must give me an Occasion. Not long after I came from your University, Dr. *Grabe* came to *Oxford*, and as he is used to be kind and free with me, I told him about Mr. *Whiston's* Design: But he knowing every Thing very well, especially of *Clement's Constitutions*, (which Mr. *Whiston* thinks to prove genuine, tho' he is never able to do't) wonders that Mr. *Whiston* pretends to say that (he) Dr. *Grabe* is in this Thing of his Opinion. Nay he is so far from that, that he thinks himself oblig'd to write against Mr. *Whiston*, as soon as his Treatise comes out. The Reason is this: Mr. *Whiston* (as you know) was last *Michaelmas* at *London*; and in his staying there thought to print the *Constitutions of St Clement*, with some Annotations, which should establish his following Tract of *Arianism*. Tho' before he went to his Bookseller, he came to Dr. *Grabe*, directed by the Spirit of God, to whom he shewed his Treatise, written in English, desiring to give his Censure. But Dr. *Grabe* looking in his Presence over his Treatise *oculò cursoriò* answer'd him with such Arguments that Mr. *Whiston* promis'd him not to print it now, till he had seen the MS. of *Vienna*; (containing these *Clement's Constitutions*,) which, as Dr. *Grabe* says, will knock him down with one Shock, and Mr. *Whiston* himself told Dr. *Grabe* that he would think himself wrong if he could procure him the Sight of that Manuscript. Concerning his *Arianism*, Dr. *Grabe* could never bring him to speak of it: at least as Dr. *Grabe* urg'd Bishop *Bull's* Works, and his own Annotations upon him, Mr. *Whiston* said these very Words; I have nothing to say against your Notes upon Dr. *Bull's* Tract. How does that agree with his Obstinacy that he uses at *Cambridge*? Sure he that hath read the Fathers but of late, and not all, but some few, is not a true Judge of the  
 Doctrine



## P R E F A C E.

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Doctrine taught by them, which requires 20 or 40 Years to do. But I am afraid I detain you long with my trifling Letter, I must beg your Pardon and Excuse for the Faults I have committed therein. Pray remember me kindly to Mr. Ockley, and believe me that I am in all Sincerity

Dear S I R,

Your ever Affectionate Friend  
and humble Servant.

DAVID WILKINS.

*An Account of what pass'd between Dr. Grabe and Mr. Whiston about Michaelmas last at London, so far as relates to Mr. Wilkins Letter.*

Mr. Whiston coming to Dr. Grabe, and bringing him an *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, left it with him for his Perusal and Opinion. When Mr. Whiston came for his Papers, Dr. Grabe said, he had read them but once: but that he design'd to read them again, had not his Business about the *Septuagint* hindred him; Sheet of which was just then come from Oxford. Dr. Grabe both then and before seem'd highly pleas'd with the Design, said more than once that he had, but the Day before Mr. Whiston came, had an Impression upon him to write to Vienna for a small MS. mention'd in his *Spicilgium* [p. 287. Tom. 1.] which was likely to give Light who was the Collector or Writer of these *Constitutions*. Since Dr. Grabe, tho' he own'd the first Book written by *Clemens*, as being his Stile, and could not deny the fifth Book to be written in the *West*, where *Clement* liv'd; yet suppos'd *Ignatius* the Collector of the second Book, as having several of his Words and Expressions, as *Hippolytus*

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was

was the Collector of the Eighth. But own'd, with great Zeal and Concern in general, the genuine Truth and Apostolical Antiquity of this Collection; excepting some Points wherein the later Alterations in the Church's Discipline had occasion'd Alterations in this Collection. Mr. *Whiston* said that such Alterations he did not deny; but that for the Doctrine he thought it wholly Right, and agreeable to the Scripture, and the other Antient Books now extant; and particularly had met with no Examples of any *Arian* Interpolations: and desir'd Dr. *Grabe* to tell him whether he knew of any. Dr. *Grabe* paus'd, and gave no Examples, appearing utterly at a loss for any: but all along own'd his high Esteem for these Constitutions, and that several Years ago he offer'd to have set out a new Edition of them; and said it was his Opinion that till the three first Centuries are made our Rule; and particularly these Constitutions restor'd to be the Guide of the Church, instancing in the form of Consecration of the Eucharist, which was always at first according to that in the Eighth Book, he expected no Amendment nor better Times. In all which Mr. *Whiston* fully agreed with him; and told him that he had written a *Direction for Studies* to the same Purpose, which he design'd to propose to the World; and that he had made an Extract of the Testimonies of the earliest Times about some of the great Points of our Religion, in the very method Dr. *Grabe* propos'd for the Determination of Modern Controversies. Mr. *Whiston* did not tell Dr. *Grabe* that he had found the Original Doctrine to be that of the *Arians*: nor did Dr. *Grabe*, he supposes, at all know before, that that was his Opinion. Nor indeed had they any direct Discourse about that Matter at all. Only on the Mention of *Hyppolytus*, Mr. *Whiston* said that the common Citations in Bishop *Bull* out of him were of weak Authority; as being either Supposititious or very doubtful, as to our Saviour's Divinity: but



but that Dr. *Grabe* had given us more Authentick ones from him in his Additions to *Bishop Bull* on the same Subject: [which Mr. *Whiston* had inserted into his present Extract, but that they were later than the Times he confin'd himself to.] After all, Dr. *Grabe* was so kind as to inform Mr. *Whiston* of two eminent Citations of the *Constitutions*; the one by *Origen*, the other by *Chrysoftom*, which Mr. *Whiston* thank'd him heartily for: and Dr. *Grabe* also promis'd to write immediately to *Vienna* for the foremention'd small MS. [not for the *Constitutions* themselves,] that if possible we might have some more Light in this Matter before Mr. *Whiston* publish'd his Essay. To which Mr. *Whiston* readily agreed. Afterward Dr. *Grabe* met with Mr. *Whiston* in the Street, and ask'd him, why he said the Paraphras'd Epistles of *Ignatius* [or the larger Epistles] were written in the second Century? Mr. *Whiston* reply'd, *Because all the Characters in them were no later.*

I believe that Mr. *Wilkins* wrote the Account above-mention'd, because I see it under his own Hand; but that Dr. *Grabe* ever gave him that Account, as it is there contain'd, I do not believe. Nor, since I find Mr. *Wilkins's* Heat and Mistakes shall I much value his Account of what pass'd between him and my self at *Cambridge*. He that imagins 20 or 40 Years Study necessary to know the meaning of Authors who may be carefully read over in a part of one Year; and dares not trust Authors of the first, second and third Centuries, till he has the Explications of the fourth, fifth and sixth, to understand them by, [as he said in his Conference with me,] shall not be the Guide of my Faith. And indeed, if he had added, that we cannot well understand those of the fourth, fifth and sixth, till we also have the Explications of the seventh, eighth and ninth Centuries, he had spoken notably, and said more for the Primitive Antiquity of the novel Doctrines of Popery

than any Body. But I know Dr. *Grabe* has no such Notions ; and so they are not at all to be charg'd upon him.

December 16. 1708. W I L L. W H I S T O N.

Soon after this began the Correspondence by Letters between my Excellent Friend Dr. *Bradford* and my self; occasion'd by some Reports spread of me in *London*, with Relation to himself, and our common and highly valued Friend Dr. *Lucas*. There pass'd in all, three or four Letters on each Side. But because the two first were the most Material, and I find my self not to have preserv'd the Copies of my Answers any farther, as thinking it probably of no Consequence, I shall only transcribe Doctors the two former Letters and my Answers to them, as follows.

S I R,

*London*, Decemb. 28. 1708.

By what you said when last in Town, I had some Expectation of seeing you here about this Time. But not being certain of your Intentions, I was oblig'd to trouble you with these Lines upon the Occasion following. Dr. *Lucas* and I have each of us severally been inform'd that in discoursing on the Subject which was the Matter of our Debate when we saw you, you have said that he and I were of the same Mind with you. You cannot but remember, Sir, that both of us did in very good earnest endeavour to convince you that you was in the Wrong ; and were so far from being convinc'd by you, that we urg'd (as to us appear'd) several strong Arguments against your Persuasion. And if you act by the Rule of Christian Charity you ought to believe that, if we were satisfy'd with what you offer'd in defence of your Sentiments, we would not from any worldly Considerations persist in denying it. I cannot therefore

fore



fore ascribe this Accusation to any thing else but that Zeal with which you have entred into your new Scheme ; which it seems appears to you so clear that you determin that every honest Man must be of your Mind ; and he that does not own himself to be so cannot be sincere. As to Dr. *Lucas* he desires me to assure you that the more he thinks of the Matter, the farther he is from approving your Judgment in this Instance. As to my self, I have entred upon the Course I promis'd, *viz.* to take into serious Consideration the Authorities on which you depend, beginning with the *Constitutions*. And I cannot forbear telling you, that there appear to me so many Marks of Forgery in them, that I wonder how a Person of your Judgment can give such Deference to them. They seem to me a Composition of some Antient Customs and Opinions, and some other of much later date, and by no Means to be depended upon till we have a sure Method of distinguishing one from the other. And whatever you may think of Dr *Grabe*, he tells me he is perfectly of the same Mind with me herein. What Account he has from *Vienna* I do not know, but I believe you will hear that from himself, he being lately come to Town. And if you should find your self mistaken in the *Constitutions*, I hope you will think it reasonable to reconsider your other Authorities also, and not venture to expose your Thoughts to publick View till you have heard what your Friends have to offer against them. However, tho' you are at Liberty to determin for your self, both what you will think, and what you will do, yet Justice will oblige you to let your Friends think and speak for themselves, and to charge them with holding no other Opinions than what themselves do own : and I am sure that if you keep to this Rule you must allow me to be utterly dissatisfy'd with what you have drawn up in the Papers you left with me ; tho' at the same Time I retain a very  
great

great Esteem for your Person, and am with all Sincerity, S I R,

Your affectionate Friend

and humble Servant.

S A M. B R A D F O R D.

*My Reply to this Letter was as follows,*

Dear S I R,

Camb. Decemb. 18. 1708.

I received yours: which occasion'd some Wonder and Surprise in me: altho' after this Account from you and Dr. *Lucas*, as well as from the Retreat of another Person once in great part, of my Mind also, I shall no more wonder at the like Procedure in others, of less Courage, Integrity, and Impartiality. Your Letter, instead of bringing any Original Testimonies against my Account, which is the Principal Point, and without which all you can say will at last come to Nothing, brings me the News, you have been misinform'd, as well as Dr. *Lucas*, that I charge you both with *Arianism*, or that in general you are of my Mind, which is utterly false, as all I converse with can testify. In some things, and those of Consequence, you were both of my Mind when I was with you. Whether you have chang'd your Opinions since I know not: and in such Points where we were of a Mind I suppose I may have said so: and when I know that either of you have alter'd your Mind, I will certainly say so also. But why you believe the idle Misrepresentations that of Course will pass abroad, I do not understand. I do not desire to know either your or Dr. *Lucas's* Opinion for my own Satisfaction, for I have taken my Notions from the only competent

Witnesses,



Witnesses, the Original Authors themselves; and am not to be persuaded by any Opinions of the eighteenth Century, that those of the first and second were other than *Arian*. You speak of your and Dr. *Grabe's* Opinion about the *Constitutions*. Dr. *Grabe* I well know from his *Spicilgium* in Print, and from a particular Conversation, and it's well that his is also in Print, or else it would be said that I misrepresent him also. You strangely impose on your self when you think that some Alterations and Interpolations made since their first Collection imply that the Passages I depend on are such; since 'tis most plain that every individual Instance of that Nature was made by the Church, and by the Orthodoxy, nay some directly against the *Arians*. And not one Example has ever yet been produc'd, I think, of an *Arian* Corruption or Interpolation in the whole Work. I put this very Question to Dr. *Grabe*, whether he had met with any *Arian* Interpolations in them? and upon a little Consideration he could name none. And I expect it of you, as the Right of Truth and Sincerity, that you put that very Question to him, and own his Answer, whether it will not agree to the same Thing. So that the *Constitutions* are now stronger against the Orthodox than if they were uncorrupted, as still appearing *Arian*, after all those Corruptions to the contrary. If you can see no Force in this Reasoning I cannot help it; nor shall pretend to prove the Genuine Antiquity of the *Constitutions* here, as reserving it for a Book by it self, which is now almost perfected; and will not fear all the little Exceptions that Modern Orthodoxy has help'd Men to raise in a clear Case, altho' my own Opinion was fix'd in all but one Point before I saw those *Constitutions*, by the other Testimonies. Dr. *Grabe's* Opinion is in pag. 45. in these Words: *Id omnino videtur certum, Librum istum ex traditionibus quas Ecclesie ab Apostolis hic illic predicantibus, & Ecclesiastica negotia ritè constituentibus acceperunt ac religiè se observarunt, compositum fuisse; &*  
*quidem*

*quidem sub finem seculi primi, aut saltem ipso seculi secundi initio.* Pray take his Book, and read the Words there with your own Eyes; for, since you suppose me to have falsify'd in declaring your and Dr. Lucas's Opinions, you may suspect even the fairness of my transcribing his Words. Tho' truly, after all, I fear 'tis not so much your Belief that I charg'd you with what you never said, as an unbecoming fear of unacceptable Imputations, if your real Thoughts should appear in Public, which occasion'd your Letter; which I look upon not, I hope, as *inconsistent with*, but however as *no part of* that Sincerity which you ought to shew upon this, as you do upon other Occasions. I may now be run down with Noise and Number for a Time, but certain Truths, well attested, have a secret Force, and gradually gain Ground, especially in the growing Generation. And a great Day is coming wherein I am persuaded that that open honest Courage for the despis'd Truths of God which I shew, will appear to have the Advantage of the prudential and political Management of the greatest part of Mankind. With humble Service to good Dr. Lucas and all Friends, I subscribe my self,

P. S. Pray desire  
Dr. Grabe to send me  
the Vienna MS. if  
it be come.

Your affectionate Friend,  
and Brother,

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. This Vienna MS. here mention'd, which Mr. Wilkins, as it were from Dr. Grabe's Mouth, affirms in his foregoing Letter *would knock me down with one Shock*, appear'd, when it came, to knock down Athanasius instead of Me. It proving to be a part of those *Ethiopick Constitutions* in Greek, (indeed I think the two first of the intire eight Books,) with which Athanasius, or somebody under him, cheated the



the poor Christians of *Ethiopia* ; as I shall prove in my Essay on those *Constitutions* themselves. Dr. *Bradford's* second Letter was this which follows.

*London. St. Thomas Apostles, Jan. 22. 1708.*

Dear S I R,

I should have reply'd to yours sooner ; but finding by the Manner of your expressing your self in it, you continu'd with full Assurance to adhere to your Scheme ; even to the passing no kind Censure on those that differ from you ; I was willing to take another View of your Testimonies and your Arguments : which I have done with all the serious Application possible. And after all, I cannot but still wonder that you should be so very positive in your present Persuasion. I very well remember how far Dr. *Lucas* and I agreed with you, and wherein we differ'd ; and, as we have not chang'd our Minds in the former, so neither have we in the latter. I always did and freely do assent to Bishop *Bull's* Thesis concerning the Subordination of the Son to the Father. I always did and always shall heartily wish, and, if it were in my Power, I should endeavour that all the Liturgies of the Church were reduc'd to as great a Simplicity and Plainness as might be. Thus far I agree with you. But I can as freely and honestly declare my self no *Arian*, as you do that you are one. And it seems strange that whilst you blame the Orthodox for adding new Atticles of Faith to the Primitive ones, You should not be afraid at the same Time to assert other new ones in direct Opposition to those you account so. You will understand me fully when I tell you that I could no more be persuaded to subscribe your celebrated *Eunomian* Creed, than you would the *Athanasian*. If I am not much mistaken, many of those Passages you have cited from *Irenæus*, (too many to be here mention'd,) are directly  
against

againſt you. And indeed you ſeem to me to have improv'd all the Paſſages that ſeem for you with much dexterity ; whilſt you paſs over the other too ſlightly. I can by no means admit your very ſuperficial and evaſive Comment upon *Irenæus's* ſaying that, *the Father made all Things, per ſemet-ipſum.* You ſhould, according to my Apprehenſion, have taken equal Pains to answer to the Teſtimonies alledg'd by Biſhop *Bull,* and many of them by your ſelf, as to adorn thoſe which you have added. I cannot in a Letter go over Particulars. But I have obſerv'd many Things in the peruſal of your Papers which deſerve your Review ; and which I ſtill heartily wiſh you would forbear to publiſh. At leaſt your Defence of the *Conſtitutions* ought to appear firſt, that you may ſee what will be ſaid to take off ſo conſiderable a Part of your Teſtimonies. I have not met with Dr. *Grabe* ſince your Letter came : if I had I ſhould not have made any difficulty to have put your Queſtion to him, nor to have return'd his Answer : tho' upon a haſty Peruſal of what he ſays in his *Spicil.* it ſeems to me that he does not uſe thoſe Words you produce of the *Conſtitutions,* as we now have them, but of the Doctrin of the Apoſtles as firſt publiſh'd. Pray read backward and forward a Page or two from that you mention, and you may poſſibly agree with me herein. I have many Things to add, but am forc'd to write in haſt, being call'd upon by other Buſineſs : and therefore with my earneſt Prayers that God may preſerve us all humble, modeſt, and ſincere ; and make us to underſtand and obey his Truth, according to his own Revelation, I ſubſcribe my ſelf

S I R, Your faithful Friend,  
and humble Servant.

S A M. B R A D F O R D.



To which I immediately return'd the following Answer.

Dear S I R,

Camb. Jan. 23. 1709.

I received yours ; and wonder you should think me desirous of any ones signing any Creed so modern as *Eunomius*. I think his Creed true my self : but abhor the Thoughts of imposing any other than an uncontested one upon the Church : such as is the largest in the *Constitutions*. and if you, and Dr. *Lucas*, and such other honest Men as are of the same Opinion would openly own the same Thing, and actually leave off that of *Vigilius Thapsitanus*, it would much contribute to the Reformation desir'd. I also hope that you will own so many of my Propositions true as you are satisfy'd in ; and let me know which in your Opinion are not sufficiently warranted by the Testimonies, That I may reconsider and alter them. For my design is to publish an Authentick Account of the Christian Faith in the earliest Ages : and if any Mistakes be yet in the Propositions, pray let me beg of you to help me to amend them. Because *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others, after *Philosophy* came in ventur'd to affirm that the Son was in a secret Manner in the Father before his Generation or Creation, and that he was made out of a Part of the Substance of his Father, as *Tertullian* asserts ; whence afterward, in all probability, came the *ὁμοούσιος*, I have said nothing in any Proposition against them ; tho' I do not my self believe them, as being plainly no Parts of Christian Revelation, Nor were they by them pretended to be such ; but propos'd as bare Human Deductions. I suppose you would not have me put such Things into my Propositions your self : and therefore how this affects my main Scheme I do not understand. You always seem to imagin that the Antients had some Notion that the Generation or Production of the Son was not *voluntary* but *necessa-*

ry: of which I find no Footsteps, but always the contrary. Pray observe this in the Antient Expressions. You seem also to think that the Metaphysick, or real *Eternity* of the Son was by the Antients, or by *Irenæus* at least, suppos'd *after* his real Production or Generation; whereas it was always suppos'd *before* it: which I beg of you to observe in the old Authors, and if you please, to ask *Dr. Grabe* also. These are the most Material Points: and I hope you will consider them with care accordingly. But when *Irenæus* so plainly and expressly owns the Son inferiour to the Father; and that he did not know the Day of Judgment, as not being reveal'd to him by the Father; that in his divine Nature he appear'd to the Patriarchs, entred really into the Virgins Womb, and really suffer'd for us in human Flesh, I wonder you should once imagin that he, by that Expression you mention, should suppose him the same Being with his Father. You have heard the Moderns talk mightily of these three Divine Persons being *One in Substance and Divinity*; So you carry that Notion in your Mind, and then the Expression looks that way to you: just as the *Ninth* to the *Romans* looks plain for *Calvinism* to some Modern Authors; whereas the Antients, who never dream'd of any such Opinions, could not particularly guard against them in their Expressions. Neither is it *certain* that *Irenæus* refers to the Son and the Holy Ghost at all there; but perhaps to the Attributes of God, his Power and Wisdom only. However, you know and approve my Rule to admit nothing as a Doctrine of Christianity which can be trac'd no higher than the Philosophic Writers. *Dr. Grabe* in the Passage refer'd to, speaks of the *ἑκτάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* or *Constitutions of the Apostles*, quoted by *Epiphanus*; which by a strange ungrounded Mistake he is ready to confound in Part with the *ἑκτάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*. Whereas *Epiphanus* has almost given us an Abridgement of the Book he means at the



End of his own Book against Heresies ; which puts it with me past Dispute that he means the *Constitutions* we now have : and I wonder the Learned have not yet been so fair to the World as to own so plain a Truth from that Abridgement. The Additions to the Original Collections in Dr. *Grabe's* Words were, in Points wherein the Churches Practice afterward was alter'd ; *exceptis*, says he, *iis punctis quæ recentioris istius ævi consuetudini erant adversa* : which has no Relation to the *Arian* Interpolations ; but I believe will not excuse those of the Church, and of the Orthodox. You caution me against printing, at least till I have publish'd the Essay on the *Constitutions*. I thought I had already inform'd you of my Intention to the same Effect. For I have found so much more Evidence for the *Constitutions* since Dr. *Grabe* saw my Papers, that I almost durst put the whole Issue of the Cause upon them ; tho' indeed there is no Occasion for so doing. I wish you would carefully read over that judicious Author *Novatian de Trinitate*, and see how very near his Account of the Antient Doctrines is to mine : and yet mine was drawn up before I read that Book : and has been very little alter'd since. However, I cannot but think it the Duty of honest Men to own freely what is so plain,

(1.) That the One and Only Supreme God of the Christians is no other than God the Father. (2.) That the Original Supreme Worship is due only to him. (3.) That the Son is Inferiour, as well as Subordinate to the Father. (4.) That he is not equally Omniscient with him. (5.) That the Holy Ghost is Inferiour as well as Subordinate to both the Father and the Son. (6.) That he was never expressly called God or Lord by the first Christians ; nor was ever Invocated by them. (7.) That the Son was begotten or created by the Father only *before the World* ; whatever secret Eternity he had before his Generation or Creation. These are Truths so plain in the

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Scripture and first Writers that any one may see them ; and yet so miserably perverted or deny'd by the Moderns that 'tis high Time to attempt the restoration of the true Ancient Faith of Christians in these Matters. But why instead of joining heartily with me where we agree, and trying to correct any occasional Mistakes in the rest, and so assisting in this honest and Christian Design, you still discourage my Attempt, and are afraid of being thought a Partner in it, I do by no means understand. However, I most heartily join in your honest and Christian Petitions ; and earnestly beg that *God may preserve me and you and all good Christians Humble, Modest, and Sincere ; and make us to understand and obey his Truth according to his own Revelation ;* through his well beloved Son *Jesus Christ* our Lord. I am in all sincerity

Your affectionate Brother,

and Servant

W. WHISTON.

P.S. I cannot but wonder that you still avoid our Saviours Expression, *The Father is greater than I*, and chuse the Word *Subordinate*, as being Safer Doctrine at present. Till we are not ashamed of Scripture Language we must never say we are intirely impartial in these Matters. I do not know of any Authentick Testimonies in Bishop *Bull* within my Period that are omitted in my Papers.

But to return to, and go on with my Narrative ; which has been, as it were, interrupted by the Letters to and from My Lord of *Worcester* and Dr. *Bradford*, with the other intervening Matters. After I had received both the *Archbishops* Answers to my former Letter above recited ; by both which I was desir'd

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## P R E F A C E.

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or advis'd to send my Papers in Writing before I ventur'd to Print; I resolv'd to comply with their Graces Inclinations. Accordingly, Besides the one imperfect Copy without Notes, and the other more compleat one with them, which I had before written with my own Hand, I did also transcribe a third Copy my self, and procur'd a Friend to transcribe a fourth also for the same Purpose: and then at last I sent a Copy to each *Archbishop*, and at the same Time took the boldness to write them a second Letter upon the same Subject: a true Copy whereof here follows.

*Camb. Jan. or Feb. 170<sup>2</sup>.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I have now presum'd to send the MS. Papers I formerly mention'd, containing the Account of the Faith of the two first Centuries concerning the Trinity and Incarnation: which Account seems to me so certain and undoubted, that I cannot but think it sufficient to satisfy all honest, free and impartial Enquirers: Nor to be otherwise evaded but by judging of the Faith and Practice of the *first* and *second* Centuries, by the Writers of the *fourth* and *fifth*, contrary to the plain Declarations of all those catholick Authors themselves which liv'd in the same Primitive Ages: which how very absurd and unreasonable it is I leave to all mankind to determin. Nor is there indeed occasion for a great part of the Testimonies here produc'd; since the *Apostles* of our Lord themselves in their genuine *Constitutions* do, by *St. Clement*, most clearly assure us of the Truth of the same Doctrines. I have had Occasion to take Notice of several great Mistakes in the Right Reverend and very Learned Bishop *Bull* concerning these Articles: which I could not avoid without betraying the Truths of God Almighty: since I think he has too often *perverted Them*, and the *Testimonies* in Antiquity belonging to them.

And I hope your Grace and his Lordship will forgive me if I venture to say that I value those sacred Doctrines reveal'd by our Lord and his holy Apostles, and a steady regard to them, so far as I can possibly discover them, much beyond the Reputation or Esteem of any mortal Man whomsoever. Nor can I forbear to wish that his Lordships plain Failure in so celebrated a Work, may be a Warning to all the *Learned* hereafter, how they write in the usual Way of modern Controversy; which has too long by much, been the Bane of the Church of Christ; and to all the *Unlearned*, how they trust to such Writings in the Determination of their Faith and Practice: whereas a full and impartial Collection of *all the Original Texts and Testimonies* relating to any Subject; Such as I have attempted in these Papers for the Trinity and Incarnation, is certainly the only fair and unexceptionable Method, in order to a solid Satisfaction. As for any Reply that may at any Time be made to me, I shall not at all value it, unless it not only gives a plain Answer to those here allerdg'd, but also produces more *numerous* and more *plain Original Texts and Testimonies* on the other side: which yet I know to be absolutely impossible. *Two* Things I earnestly beg of your Grace, in order to the through Correction of modern Errors, and the obtaining the divine Blessing on our Enquiries: the *first* is, that your Grace would conjure those *Learned Men*, to whose Examination you may please to commit these Papers, that they would examine fairly, without prepossession; that they would communicate their Observations as they occur; and that they would declare their Thoughts openly and freely relating to these Matters, without any Regards but those to Truth, Sincerity, and a good Conscience: or else all their Enquiries and Examinations will be to little purpose. The *other* is, that your Grace would also please to consider of the great Pollution of Gods

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Sacred Worship among us by the Continuation of that corrupt and Antichristian Creed of *Vigilius Thapstanus*; which is so grossly false and ungrounded that none who impartially examin can read or join in it but he must certainly do it *dubitante*, if not also *renitente Conscientia*. Nor is there, I believe, any Thing of this Nature in the Antichristian Church her self more unjustifiable. I must here own to your Grace, that an honest Zeal for the Original Simplicity of the Christian Faith and Practice; and an hearty Indignation against the unhappy Methods and Instruments whereby they have both been so long, and so sadly corrupted, may perhaps have sometimes betray'd me to an indecent Warmth against such Things or Persons as appear'd to me most highly culpable in those Matters: which yet on a friendly Intimation I promise shall be corrected before these Papers are expos'd to a more publick Consideration. I desire to *offend* no body; but only to *rouze* Men out of their *Lethargy* in these Matters, and excite them to their plain Duty, in diligently searching after and sincerely embracing the Doctrines and Practices of our *old undefiled Religion*; not as it has been of late, but as it was Originally understood and observ'd in the first and purest Ages of the Gospel; that so all Christians, as far as possible, may *with one Mind and one Mouth glorify the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, in the same Manner as was done in the very first Times of Christianity: than which sure no truly honest and pious Man can desire a greater Blessing in this World. Were I not entirely secure of your Graces real Concern for Truth and Piety, and of your favourable Opinion of my Sincerity in aiming to promote the Designs of both; and were not the Sacred Doctrines and Rules of our Religion here explain'd of the greatest Importance to the Church of Christ, I should not venture thus freely and boldly to address my self to you: nor would

such an Address at all become me. But as it was the Courage and Integrity of the first Christians which, under God, propagated our Holy Religion in its Infancy in the World ; so a proportionable Courage and Integrity ought not to be wanting in any who in earnest attempt a Reformation therein. Nor therefore will your Grace, I hope, blame the Freedom and Resolution I have ever shewed in this Matter. What I now do is, I am persuaded, the bounden Duty of every sincere Christian, much more of every faithful Minister of the Gospel : Among whom I had much rather be esteem'd by My Lord and Saviour, even under the bitterest Reproaches and Calumnies among Men, than at the Expence of a good Conscience, and the Hazard of being unfaithful to the Truths of God, enjoy all the Reputation, and Advantage this World can afford me. I am, May it please your Grace, with all due Gratitude for past Favours, with all becoming Humility and Submission,

Your obliged, and most

obedient Servant,

W. WHISTON.

To this second Letter I have never receiv'd any Answer from either of the *Archbishops*. But they were both so fair as not only to peruse my Papers themselves, ( in which perusal My Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as I am certainly inform'd, spent no small Time ; and compar'd the Originals also for greater Satisfaction ; ) but encourag'd others to follow their Example by committing the same to several Learned Men also for their Perusal and Opinions. Those who on one Occasion or other have perused them,



so far as has come to my Knowledge, are these : Both the *Archbishops*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, *Dr. Potter*, *Dr. Sydal*, and *Dr. Richardson*, Chaplains to the *Archbishops*, *Dr. Grabe*, *Dr. Smalridge*, *Dr. Bray*, *Dr. Bradford*, *Dr. Hare*, *Dr. Clarke*, *Dr. Hancock*, *Mr. Broughton*, *Mr. Bennet*, *Mr. Hoadly*, *Mr. Anderson*, and *Mr. Robinson*, and probably many more that I do not know ; I mean this besides several here at *Cambridge* also. All which are so far from having given or undertaking an Answer to them, that, on the contrary, some of the fittest of them who have been earnestly press'd to undertake it have wholly declin'd the same. I shall not name Persons ; but I believe I have not been misinform'd as to the Matter of Fact. *Mr. Bennet* indeed of *Colchester*, a Learned Writer of Controversy, and one who has publish'd a kind of Vindication of the Creed ascrib'd to *Athanasius*, and so must be suppos'd to have studied this Controversy, has been sometimes reported to have been upon it ; and since he was one of those to whom my Papers were committed by the Archbishop of *York*, the Expectation was not wholly ill grounded. Yet do I not perceive that he has a Mind to set about it : and if he dares not, I am secure the more cool and cautious Persons among the Learned will not venture upon it. Nay, he has not ventur'd upon a private Conference with me about these Matters ; no more than *Dr. Jenkins* ; who yet has written against me, on other Subjects also, and who would be as ready as any one else to confute me in this, if it lay in his Power. That these last Facts are true, the following Invitation to a friendly Conference, which was intirely refus'd me, shall be a Testimonial : which was sent to *Mr. Bennet*, or rather, I think, delivered by my self into his own Hand, when *Dr. Jenkins* was also in *Cambridge*, in these Words,

Dear S I R,

May 20. 1709.

I understand that my Papers were put into your Hands by the Archbishop of *York*, for your Examination and Opinion. You are therefore a Debtor to the Publick on those Accounts: and I must expect that you do not avoid nor delay such your Examination and Declaration of your Opinion. These are points of greater Consequence than to bear either your Refusal or Delay: especially when you have so publick a Call from the *Archbishop*; and are therefore appeal'd to in a solemn Manner not to conceal your Sentiments. In the mean Time it may much tend to the clearing up the Truth in these Points if we have a friendly Conference about them, while you and Dr. *Fenkins* are in Town. I leave the Time and Place to your self. The Company need be no other than some common Friends. I expect your Answer concerning this Proposal to

Your affectionate Brother

and Servant,

WILL. WHISTON.

But, as I have already hinted, all was to no Purpose. Several indeed do venture out of the Pulpit, where they know I am not to contradict them, and where they suppose the Audience favourable, to aim at an Opposition and Confutation of me: yet do they elsewhere most studiously avoid any Conference with me: as being either wholly unacquainted with the Controversy, any farther than Bishop *Bull*, or their other Modern Authors have instructed them; or inwardly Conscious that the Original Books of Christianity are not so clear on the side of Orthodoxy as the World is to be perswaded. But then, As to  
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my Papers about the *Constitutions*, tho' they have also been seen by several, I mean an imperfect Draught of them, yet have I received no considerably Intimations relating to them from abroad. The Learned generally appearing almost as much Strangers to them, at least as to their real genuine or spurious Nature, and as to the Number and Nature of their Interpolations, as if we had no such Books extant among us. Bishop *Pearson* indeed of late, and since him Dr. *Grabe* found a few MSS. that began to make them think they were Antienter and of more Authority than is vulgarly suppos'd: and *Cotelerius* has written such admirable Notes upon them as are sufficient to shew that their Authority is vastly great as to the Antient State of the Church, and its Original Settlements. But the Prejudices against the *Arian* Passages did so overbear all, that none of these either did or durst really and thoroughly examin into their Sacred *Authority*. Which yet, upon a full Examination, I take to be undeniable. And truly as to my self, whatever other honest Men may look for or promise themselves in this Matter, I have never expected any *Answer* to the Papers about the Primitive Faith, or indeed to those other about the *Constitutions*, and about *Ignatius*: and I own I have had but *one Argument* why I did not expect any, *viz.* Because I was fully satisfy'd they were really *Unanswerable*. And as I have now had the Satisfaction, almost this Two Years, of observing the Fact to correspond, and not so much as a Pretence to a Reply to appear as to these Papers; so do I fully believe that for the Time to come the Fact will alike correspond as to all of them. Had I found Matters doubtful or uncertain in the old Authors, I had not acted as I have done: but finding them otherwise, at the same Time that I publish the Account, I know no Answer can be made to it. Some Improvements and Corrections, no Doubt, all such Writings must be long capable of;

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but to think of *answering* a Matter of Fact, when it is once prov'd from all the Original Witnesses that are capable of being examin'd, which must be the Case here, is absurd and ridiculous. I meddle not therein properly with the Truth, or Reasonableness, or Philosophy of the Doctrines or Practices; but taking the Things our Saviour deliver'd, and the Apostles receiv'd and preach'd to the World as *Antient Facts*, and therefore no otherwise to be known than by the Testimonies of all the earliest Writers, I have honestly, and faithfully, and impartially given an Account of the same from all those earliest Writers, and that almost wholly in their own Words: and that Account has, in every Part, been review'd, examin'd, and corrected by a Learned, Cautious, and Impartial Friend, and found to be just and fair. So that I not only know it to be, for the Main, *Unanswerable*, but I can hardly forbear saying that those of the Learned who have carefully perus'd it, and are able to judge of it, cannot but know that they are not able to answer it. Not that my Papers are of such a persuasive Nature, or the Antient Testimonies every one so clear and express, that when they are read by even Learned Men with their former Notions, and Prejudices, and Fears about them, they may not leave them doubtful and uncertain in several Things. But this I affirm, that if any Learned Persons do as I did, *i. e.* come with a full Resolution to be under no Manner of Byass at all, but barely to believe as they see the Original Testimonies shall sway them; and not only pray for Gods Blessing on their Enquiries, but sincerely resolve to alter their present Faith and Practice according as they shall see Reason from the same Testimonies; (which I bless God I have still done all along; and without doing so could not have expected the Success of my Endeavours;) They will then soon see that, in the Main, my Account is *certainly true*; and by Consequence  
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my Papers *Unanswerable*. Tho' how long it will now be ere this will be own'd by the Learned, and the necessary Alterations made in the Articles, Creeds, and Liturgy of the Church I cannot tell: nor indeed when Things will be own'd to deserve such a publick and solemn Consideration and Examination as they ought to have before such great Alterations are Attempted. Could I but once see a publick Fast proclaim'd, to lament all our crying Sins of this Nature; and to implore a Blessing on our Enquiries hereto relating; with publick Leave or Commission to examin freely and impartially, without any Fears from this World, I should then easily foresee the Suddenness of this great Reformation. But till I see some such Signs of the Churches being in earnest, and really desirous of Truth and Christianity in these Matters, I cannot foretel that Time; I mean any farther than the near Approach of our Saviours Kingdom in the Scripture Prophecies does assist me: for which Period I must refer the Reader to my *Essay upon the Revelation of St. John*. But to leave this Digression, and to proceed. About *May 1709*. I was accus'd to my Diocesan, the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, by the Minister of that Parish in *Cambridge*, where, by his Lordships Favour, I enjoy'd a Catechetick Lectureship, that in my Explication of the Church Catechism I did assert Things that were *contrary to the Doctrine of the Church*; and also that when I once read Prayers for him, I omitted the third and fourth Petitions of the Litany, or the *Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and of the Trinity*. These Accusations I confess'd to be true; and was very ready to justify and support my Opinions and Practices as to those Matters. Accordingly, when my Diocesan appointed a Time for hearing the Accusation and my Defence, I appear'd at the Time and Place appointed; But my Accuser not appearing there at the same Time; tho' he afterward came, as I was told,  
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when the Bishop was gone, as well as my self; this Accusation, in a manner, came to nothing. Some Time after this I was told by a Friend that there was a direct Design against me by some of the University, and that there had accordingly been the Form of a *Grace*, (as we call it,) drawn up and carried to the Reverend Dr. *Covel*, Master of *Christ's-Colledge*, our then Vicechancellor, in order to my Degradation or Expulsion; at least so far as lay in the Power of the Senate of the University to do either of them. All which proved to be true: tho' I perceiv'd no publick hearing was design'd to be allow'd me; nor could I ever obtain a sight of that *Grace* which was intended against me. And indeed the Steps taken were so unjustifiable, and the Vicechancellor, with the rest of the *Caput Senatus*, and such others as knew the fairness of my Procedure all along, appear'd so unwilling to go into them, that this was soon dropt; tho' not without some remaining Threats and Contrivances against me one way or other: which yet the good Providence of God has hitherto deliver'd me from; and I assuredly hope and trust will still deliver me. I say nothing of the Rudeness offer'd, and Imputation intended to be laid upon me at Dr. *Clarks* remarkable Act in the Divinity Schools; because the unfair Procedure on the one side, and the prudent Caution on the other did so wholly prevent any Disgrace to me thereby, that after the Heats, which were then excited, were a little over, and the University began to consider better of it, all such Attempts turned rather to my Advantage. But what Endeavours were elsewhere us'd against me, and how far they succeeded, will fully appear from the two following Letters which I wrote to the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, about the same Time that the foregoing Particulars happen'd: which I shall therefore here transcribe.



My LORD.

*Camb. Sept. 29. 1709.*

I receiv'd by Mr. L. and Mr. P. a Message from your Lordship concerning my quitting that Lecture which I have hitherto by your Lordships Favour enjoy'd ; tho' with the Assurance of the private Continuance of the same Allowance to me. I own this last offer, which your Lordship was also pleas'd to make me at *London*, to be an Instance of your Lordships great Regard and Kindness to me and my Family ; and I do heartily thank your Lordship for it. Nay I own the Acceptance of this Proposal would be both for my own private Ease and Advantage at present ; and, if other ill Consequences could be prevented, for my Satisfaction also, so far as it tended to your Lordships own Ease, and the preventing some Clamors which are to your Disturbance. But when I consider what will be the unavoidable Consequence of such a Procedure ; and how it will still the more imbitter vast Numbers of the Laity against the Clergy, when they see those of the most Freedom and Temper among them go into the way of Discouragement and Suppression of the fairest and honestest Enquiries into the Truths of our Religion, and thereby plainly encourage those who aim to carry Things farther, and to proceed to direct Violence and Persecution against me, and that for no other Cause but because I dare to examin and openly declare those sacred Truths of Christ which the Antichristian Church has so long suppress'd : when, I say, I consider these and the like Consequences of this Proposal, I must own I cannot possibly give my Consent to it. I know very well that your Lordship does not need my Consent to this or to a worse Proposal. 'Tis in your own Breast to take the Allowance away, as well as to forbid me to officiate. And I assure your Lordship I am prepar'd for the worst, both in this, and any the like Case : being fully resolv'd to  
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hazard not only my Estate, bnt, by Gods Assistance, my Life in this Cause: which, on a full Examination, I am intirely satisfy'd is the Cause of Christ, and of his Sacred Truths reveal'd to Mankind. However, I am almost tempted to wonder that your Lordship is moved by some idie Clamors, when your Lordship may perceive that those that make them are so little assur'd of the Truth of the contrary Doctrines, that they industriously avoid both any Conference about them, and the perusal of my Papers concerning them. May your Lordship please either to peruse my Papers your self: or if your other Affairs will not permit that, to recommend them to some Number of Learned and Fair Persons for their Examination and Opinion, before you proceed to any Thing like a Punishment on any such Account. This seems so near to strict Justice that I may almost claim it at your Lordships Hands; especially since I am well assur'd your Lordship does not design to go to the Rigour of that with me. But upon this Occasion Give me Leave, My Lord, to insist on what I formerly propos'd, and have hinted already, *viz.* That your Lordship will please so far to Countenance Truth and Honesty as to recommend the Examination of my Papers to the University, and to intimate your Desire that some such fair Method may be taken, before any harsher Methods are thought of. My Papers are ready for them, and of Consequence sufficient to persuade to such a Method. And to encourage them to hope for all possible fairness on my side, I do here, uuder my Hand, promise your Lordship that if the Examiners can produce a *Tenth Part* of so many Original Texts and Testimonies for the Doctrines now current, as I do *against* them, I will *burn my Papers*, and the Church of Christ shall be no farther troubled with them. But if this cannot be done, I hope your Lordship will consider well ere you discourage and discour-

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tenance such plain Truths of Christianity. I am,  
with all due Gratitude and Submission,

Your Lordships obliged,

and obedient Servant,

W I L L. W H I S T O N.

*The second Letter, which was wrote a Month afterward,  
was in these Words.*

My LORD, Camb. Octob. 27. 1709.

I perceive that your Lordship is much disturb'd with Complaints, and made uneasy with Regard to that Lecture at St. Clements, which I have hitherto enjoy'd by your Lordships Favour. It has certainly been all along in your Lordships Power to have taken away both the Liberty and the Salary of my officiating there. Altho' your Lordships Regard to me, as well as to my Family, on Account of the Relation I have formerly born to your Lordship, has hitherto prevented any such harsher Procedure. I must profess here before your Lordship that the Doctrines I have taught in those Lectures, as well as declar'd elsewhere, are no other than such as, on a full Examination, I am satisfy'd are the sacred Truths of Christianity reveal'd to Mankind. So that 'tis impossible for me to renounce or conceal them, without being condemn'd by my own Conscience of Hypocrisy and Prevarication in the most Sacred Concerns possible. Nor therefore could I formerly consent to your Lordships kind Proposal of continuing the Salary, if I was willing to drop the Lecture; because I then understood it to be intended in such Circumstances as carried too great an Appearance of Discouragement to these Truths I had there declar'd; and a kind of publick Discountenance to those free  
and

and honest Enquiries whereby alone the true genuine and primitive Faith, and Worship, and Discipline can be recover'd among us. The fear of those Consequences is now in good Measure over, by your Lordships more open continuance of my former Salary, and leaving the continuance of the Lecture it self to my own Discretion. I confess to your Lordship I am so sensible of the Inconveniencies which have already arisen from so great diversity of the Opinions of Mr. T. who is the Minister, and my self the Lecturer; and the yet greater Inconveniencies which I have Reason to fear if it be still continued, so directly against his Inclination, as well as against the Bent of the Body of the University it self, that I choose to relinquish it voluntarily for the future; at least till it may be reviv'd with more Quiet and Ease on all sides. Accordingly, I do hereby heartily thank your Lordship for your Continuance of it to me all this Time; for your thus leaving the continuance or ceasing of it to my own Choice; and for your Regard still abundantly shew'd in the kind Promise of the same Salary which I had before. Only I beg Leave still to put your Lordship in Mind of my former Motion, that your Lordship would please to encourage a fair and publick Examination of these important Points which I have to propose to the Christian World; and to use your good Offices with all those concern'd, that no sudden and rash Attempts upon me here may be set on Foot; but that I my self may be publickly heard, and my Papers carefully read and examin'd before any Discountenance or Censure be pass'd upon me. I am, My Lord, with all due Gratitude and Submission,

Your Lordships much obliged, and

*I have given Notice to  
Mr. T. that the Lecture  
will be discontinued.*

most obedient Servant.

WILL. WHISTON.



But to go on now with my Narrative. After these Things, the latter part of *January* last 17<sup>2</sup>/<sub>1</sub>. I discover'd another Thing of the greatest Consequence to the Christian Church, and to my main Designs, *viz.* That the *larger Epistles* ascrib'd to *Ignatius*, and which have of late been stil'd his *interpolated Epistles*, were not only a Work sufficiently early in the second Century, (which indeed I had discover'd long before, upon my first perusal of them; and had thenceforward stil'd them the *Paraphras'd Epistles* of that Father,) but that they were the Original genuine Epistles themselves; nay that those three inscrib'd to *Tarsus*, to *Antioch*, and to *Hero*, which all the Learned have long given up for spurious, do appear to be genuine also. This Discovery I was so highly pleas'd with, and look'd upon it to be of such Importance, and the obvious Arguments for my Assertion so strong, that I could not forbear immediately drawing up and publishing a small imperfect *Essay* on that Subject; on purpose to set the Learned upon the reexamination of that Matter. This *Essay* need not to be spoken of any farther here, because it is publick; and because that more compleat *Dissertation* on the same Head, which is prefix'd to this Edition of the Epistles, includes it. Only because I have not there thought it necessary to repeat what I said in my Postscript to that *Essay*, I shall here set it down intire; lest any one from its omission should suspect that I am now dissatisfy'd with any part of it.

### Postscript.

Among the Passages of *Blasphemy*, *Irreligion*, and *Heresy* refer'd to by Dr. *Sacheverell* at his Tryal, some of mine are thus enumerated: *viz.* *When the Scriptures speak of One God, they mean thereby One Supreme God the Father only.* — *The Moderns call'd these three Divine Persons but One God; and so introduc'd at least a*  
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new,

new, and unscriptural and inaccurate, if not a false way of speaking into the Church — Errata pag. 123. lin. 23. 24. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost; read in the Holy Ghost, and Dele, Three Persons and One God. These I allow to be mine own Words, and to be agreeable to my own, not uncertain Opinion but certain Faith. I was once, as the World will see by the Occasion of the latter Erratum, in the common Opinion, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Three Divine Persons were truly, in some Sence, *One God*, or *the One God* of the Christian Religion: that is before I particularly examin'd that Matter in the Scriptures, and the most Primitive Writers. But since I have throughly enquir'd into it, I am so fully satisfy'd that the *Father* alone is the *One God* of the Christian Religion, that I must now own that when once I deny or doubt of that Doctrine I must deny or doubt of our common Christianity: there being no one Article more plain, or more universally acknowledg'd in all the first Ages of the Church than that was. And I here venture solemnly to challenge Dr. *Sacheverell* himself, and all his more Learned Friends, to produce *one single direct Testimony* of any Christian and Catholick Writer, (excepting one or two Expressions of *Tertullian*, contrary even to his own usual way of speaking; if yet he can be call'd a Catholick Writer,) who said these *Three Persons* were *One God*, or *the One God* before the Days of *Athanasius*, in the fourth Century: while I am ready to produce above *an Hundred* plain Testimonies on the other side, that this *One God* is no other than *God the Father*. Which indeed was the first Doctrine which the *Catechumens* learn'd, and the grand Foundation of our whole Religion. I also thought before my Examination that the Doxology current in all these latter Ages, *Glory be to the Father*, and *to the Son*, and *to the Holy Ghost*, was the true Christian Doxology: but upon enquiry am fully satisfy'd that it was not so; but thus, *Glory be to the Father*,



*Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost*: and more rarely, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, in the Holy Ghost*; as I am prepar'd to shew beyond reasonable Contradiction: to which last form I therefore desir'd mine might be reduc'd by the former *Erratum*. 'Tis true, that my not revising that reprinted Sermon my self, as I did the rest, occasion'd the omission of the Alterations in their proper Places; which otherwise I had certainly made: as I did make one elsewhere agreeably to the antient Doxology. This omission I endeavour'd to retrieve by putting the Passages into the *Errata*: little dreaming of the Noise, and Outcry which has been since made upon that Occasion. But this Age is so great a stranger to such Original Enquiries; so busy about Modern Forms, Notions and Phrases, that old genuine Christianity, both as to Faith and Practice, is almost lost among us. And an honest Man who endeavours in the most inoffensive and peaceable way to retrieve the same, if he ventures to speak plainly and freely in such Matters, is readily rank'd among the vile and wicked Promoters of *Blasphemy, Irreligion,* and *Heresy* among us. But if Men do not, I fully believe Christ will make a Difference between them at the great Day of Judgment.

March 25. 1710.

W. W.

Now the Reader is to observe here, that tho' this Postscript be not dated till the 25. of *March*, as not finish'd sooner, yet that the Essay it self was finish'd and dated the 27th of *February* foregoing. And he is also to observe, that this small Essay did so shock the Learned, that upon my discoursing some of them at *London* and *Cambridge*, I perceiv'd they did not know how to Answer the Evidence which that Paper, how small and imperfect soever, contain'd in it. However, having obtain'd some new Hints at *London*,

and there met with Professor *Salvinus's* most exact Copy of the smaller *Medicæan* Epistles ; upon my return to *Cambridge* I set my self to compare the two Editions still more nicely and exactly ; and to examin that whole Matter more throughly. The result of which the following Dissertation presents the Reader : to which he is therefore to be refer'd under this Particular. But here, to go a small Matter backward, I must acquaint the Reader that before I went to *London* to print the first Essay, I wrote a Letter to the Reverend Dr. *Roderick*, Provost of *Kings-Colledge*, and Dean of *Ely*, our Vicechancellor, to be communicated to the Heads ; which yet I order'd not to be deliver'd to him till one of the printed Essays themselves could be presented with it ; as was done accordingly. This Letter is highly proper to be inserted here : and I shall set it down *verbatim* ; that the Reader may farther see how fairly I have acted in this whole Matter ; and by Consequence how little Reason any of the University or elsewhere can have to be angry with me, or to endeavour to do me any Harm upon these Accounts.

*Mr. Vicechancellor,*

*Camb. Feb. 22. 17<sup>92</sup>.*

Having now in good Measure finish'd those Papers which I have been about for some Time, concerning the *Primitive Faith of Christians*, and concerning the *Apostolical Constitutions* ; and therein, by the Blessing of God, made Discoveries of such Consequence as ought not any longer to be conceal'd from the Christian Church, I presume to Address my self to you in this Matter, and to Offer the foremention'd Papers to your, and to the Universities *publick Consideration*. As I have the Honour to be a Member of this Body, and desire ever to be a peaceable Member of it, I think it very well becomes me to submit my Papers to the Examination of the same ; both as it is an University, or Society of Learned Men ; and as



it is mainly an University of Clergy-Men, or of Persons either already of, or design'd for the sacred Office of the Ministry ; and so peculiarly concern'd in these *Sacred Enquiries*. I am well aware that not a few of the Discoveries contain'd in my Papers are contrary to the receiv'd Notions, and the establish'd Doctrines and Practices upon them, not only of this, but of almost all the other Christian Churches. But then, I am so well, so fully assur'd of the certain and undenyable Truth of the same Discoveries notwithstanding, that the commonness of the opposite pernicious Errors, so fatally overspreading the Christian Church, dishonouring the Gospel of Christ, and hindring the Propagation and Effects thereof in the World, ought to inspire all sincere and honest Christians, that is, all those that make the Doctrines and Laws of their Blessed Lord and of his Holy Apostles the proper Rule and Standard of their Faith and Practice, with the greater Concern and Zeal in the Examination and Correction of them. 'Tis not yet two Centuries since all these Parts of *Christendom* did almost as universally believe Purgatory and Transubstantiation as they now do those Doctrines which I oppose. And I venture to say that the Foundations for those strange and absurd Opinions are yet full as good and as plausible in the Scriptures, and the most Primitive Fathers as they are for the common Doctrines in these Matters : and so they ought upon Examination to be equally rejected with them. But then, the Correction of those *Doctrines* and the Practices founded on them is not all, nor the main Thing that I labor for. The Discoveries I have made are of still a higher Nature. For I have, I think, certainly found that those *Apostolical Constitutions* which the Antichristian Church has so long laid aside as spurious or heretical, are no other than the Original Laws and Doctrines of the Gospel : The *New Covenant* ; or most sacred Standard of Christia-

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nity ; equal in their Authority to the four Gospels themselves ; and superior in Authority to the Epistles of single Apostles : some parts of them being our Saviours own *Original Laws* deliver'd to the Apostles ; and the other parts the *Publick Acts* of the Apostles themselves met in Councils at *Jerusalem* and *Cæsarea* before their Death : and this was the constant Opinion and Testimony of the earliest Ages of the Gospel. Nay I have discover'd also very lately that the larger Epistles of *Ignatius*, which are stil'd the interpolated ones, and which give undeniable Attestation to these *Constitutions*, are alone the Original and genuine Epistles of that Apostolical Bishop ; and that by Consequence the smaller Epistles, which now pass for the genuine and Original ones themselves, are only later *Extracts* made out of the former for the Purposes of Orthodoxy. These Discoveries, if true, are certainly of the highest Importance to every Christian ; and therefore they ought most certainly, without farther delay, without all Passion and Prejudice, to be honestly enquir'd into and openly examin'd among us. I am my self so fully satisfy'd of their certain and undoubted Truth and Divine Authority, that I am willing and ready to hazard all I have or hope for in this World for their Reception and Establishment : and do hope that, if Violence and Persecution should be my Lot on this Account, God would afford me Grace and Courage to resist even unto Blood, with Patience and Submission, in so good, and glorious, and Christian a Cause. But I hope the Churches of Christ, especially the Reformed Churches, begin to lay aside that *Antichristian Spirit of Persecution* which has so long prevented the free Enquiries of Christians into the Original Doctrines and Duties of the Gospel. And I do also believe that our Saviour Christ is bringing on soon his Kingdom of Peace and Holiness, when all such Designs shall be vain and fruitless for ever.

Good



Good Mr. *Vicechancellor*, do but so far encourage Truth and Honesty, as to allow my Papers a *fair, a publick, and a careful Examination*; and when that is over, take what Resolutions you shall think meet concerning them and their Author. These are Matters of the highest and most Sacred Nature that have ever come before the Church of Christ. And As we may all hope for Mercy at the Hands of God, as to our past Subscriptions, Creeds, and Practices, so contrary to Christianity, in case we now readily set our selves to examin and correct them for the Time to come, with a sincere Desire to know, and firm Resolution to practice the Truths and Duties of Primitive Christianity; how contrary soever they may prove to our Modern Notions, Customs and Interests; So will any Degree of wilful Ignorance, Obstinacy, and Disobedience be hereafter a Crime of much greater Guilt, and so bring down upon us a much heavier Punishment. *The Times of the former Ignorance*, St. Paul tells us, *God winked at*: But when the Divine Truths were plainly reveal'd, he more expressly commanded, and justly expected that *all Men every where should repent*. 'Tis of no Consequence how inconsiderable the Means or Instruments are which our Saviour makes use of to discover his Truths and his Word to Mankind. If they appear to be *his sacred Truths*, and *his holy Word*, we have no farther Excuse to make for our Disobedience. Nor can all the Authority of Articles, Canons, and the like Acts of human Contrivance excuse us either from a serious Enquiry into, or from a suitable Compliance with the Will of Christ, when it is plainly reveal'd to Mankind. If you, Sir, with the rest of the Heads and Members of this University please to encourage that fair Examination which I desire and insist upon, I will immediately apply my self to the Governours of the Church, the Archbishops and Bishops, for their Permission and Directions therein:

which I have good Hope they will not deny in so important a Matter. And indeed, I look upon it as the peculiar Duty and Business of *the Clergy* to reform and amend the Corruptions which at any Time appear to be crept into the Faith or Practice of the Church. Accordingly I most earnestly desire that *the Clergy* would *themselves* set about the present Examination, while my Papers are in mine own Power; lest otherwise the Neglect and Refusal of such Examination be justly laid to their Charge, to their Reproach and Condemnation, both in this World, and in that which is to come. I have my self acted with all Sincerity in this Matter. I have fairly set down the Result of my own Enquiries; and earnestly desir'd the Assistance of others: that so all even lesser Mistakes or Omissions might be avoided, and the whole be as compleat and Authentick as possible, before it comes to be publish'd to the World. I do still earnestly desire the same Assistance; which a fair and solemn Examination, by a select Number of Learned Men, empower'd and requir'd to enquire and speak freely, would afford me. If this be refus'd or neglected, especially by the University and by the Clergy, I think no small Guilt will ly upon them both before God and Men. Only after this direct Offer and Representation here; as I have already made, and do again intend to make the same Offer and Representation to the most Reverend the Archbishops, on account of the Body of the Clergy, I hope I shall my self be esteem'd wholly clear and blameless; as having sincerely discharg'd my Duty and Conscience in this serious and weighty concern. And I heartily wish that the rest of my Brethren of the Clergy would think themselves oblig'd to do that which is now without Dispute become their *bounden Duty*. I am Sir, with all due Respect and Observance,

Your most humble, and  
obedient Servant,

W I L L. W H I S T O N.



But this Letter had no Effect at all, as far as I could perceive ; nor do I know that it was then so much as shewed to any of the other Heads of the University. However I still went on to guide my own Faith and Practice by the Original Rules of the Gospel, and the Apostolical Constitutions, without concerning myself with our later Guides, the Doctrines and Rules of the present Age. [ I mean only in such Matters as were too sacred to be chang'd ; or too plainly enjoin'd to be lyable to human Determination : while in all other Matters of Indifferency and Christian Liberty, I carefully conform'd my self to the Rules and Appointments of the Church of *England*, as a peaceable Member of the same.] Accordingly upon the Birth of a Child in *June* this Year 1710. I resolv'd, as exactly as possible, to observe the Laws of Christ deliver'd in the New Testament, and more fully in the Apostolical Constitutions, as to its Baptism. And for that end I drew out of the same Constitutions as exact a Form for the Baptizing of Infants as I could, which I made use of Accordingly ; and do here present it to the pious and Christian Reader for his *Instruction* and *Edification*, and when he is satisfy'd that the use of it is his Duty, for his *Imitation* also.

A Form for the BAPTISM of Infants,  
agreeable to the *Constitutions of the Apostles*.

[ *The Lesson*, Rom. vi. ]

[ *The Explication*. ]

Dearly Beloved: Baptism is a sacred Ordinance given by Christ *Constit. L. III. C. 17.* himself, as a solemn Representation of his own Death. The descending into the Water represents his Burial. The holy Oil, which ought to be first us'd, represents the Effusion of the Holy Ghost.  
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The Holy Ointment, us'd in the Sealing afterward, is for the Confirmation of the Profession of the Person baptiz'd. The mention of the Father in the Form of Baptism, is to put us in Mind that God the Father is the Original Author of the Dispensation by Christ, and he that sent his Son into the World. The mention of the Holy Ghost after the Father and the Son, is to put us in Mind that he was the grand Witness to our Saviours Mission. The Immersion of the Person under Water represents his dying together with Christ. The Emerision of the Person out of the Water, represents his rising again with him. The Father, who is first named, is the supreme God. Christ, who is named in the second Place, is the only begotten God ; the Beloved Son of God ; and the Lord of Glory. The Holy Ghost, who is named in the third Place, is the Comforter ; who was sent by Christ, and taught by him, and who proclaim'd him to the World:

[ *The Exhortation.* ]

*Cap. 18.* Now every Baptized Person is to remember that he must repent of and forsake all sorts of Wickedness ; and must no longer go on in Sin ; but must behave himself as one in Friendship with God, and at Enmity with the Devil ; as the Heir of God the Father, and the Fellow-heir with his Son ; and as one that has renounc'd the Devil himself, with his Dæmons, and his Deceits. He must be chaste, pure and holy, as a Friend of God, and as a Son of God : One that prays to him as a Son prays to his Father, and accordingly uses the Lord's Prayer, as in the Name of the common Society of all the faithful.

*Hear*



*Hear the Words of the Gospel written by Mark, in the Tenth Chapter, at the Thirteenth Verse.*

They brought young Children to Christ that he should touch them; and his Disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeas'd, and said unto them, suffer the little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of God as a little Child he shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his Arms, put his Hands upon them, and blessed them.

*Hear now what the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons say farther concerning Baptism; and particularly concerning the Baptizing of Infants; and concerning the Dipping three Times in Baptism.*

He that will not be baptiz'd, out of Contempt of this Sacred Ordinance, shall be condemn'd among the Unbelievers; and shall be reproach'd as an ungrateful Person. For our Lord says, *Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* And again, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* But as to him that says, "I will defer to be baptiz'd till my Death; least I should sin afterward, and so defile my Baptism: he is ignorant of God, and unacquainted with his own frail Nature. For the Scripture says, *Delay not to turn unto the Lord, for thou knowest not what a Day may bring forth.* Do ye also Baptize your Infants, and bring them up in the Nurture and Admonition of God: for our Lord says, *Suffer the little Children to come unto me, and forbid them not.*

L. VI. C. 15.

Joh. III. 5.

Mar. XVI. 16.

Ecclus. V. 7.

Prov. XXVII. 1.

Matt. XIX. 14.

Mar. X. 14.

*Can. 1.* If any Bishop or Presbyter does not dip three Times in the Celebration of this Sacred Ordinance of Initiation into Christianity; but dips once only, and uses the Form of Baptizing, *Into the Death of the Lord*, let him be depriv'd. For the Lord did not say, *Baptize them into my Death*; but he said, *Go ye and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

*Matt. XXVIII. 19.*

*Hear also what the same Constitutions say of the Sufficiency of Baptism by Water alone, without the Holy Oil and Ointment; where no such Oil and Ointment are to be had.*

*L. VII. C. 22.* If there be neither Oil nor Ointment Water is sufficient, both for the anointing with the Oil, and sealing with the Ointment; and for the Profession of his Faith who dies together with Christ.

[ *The Baptismal Instruction.* ]

*C. 39. --- 45.* Those who at Years of Discretion offer themselves to be *Catechumens* are to be fully instructed before they are admitted to *Baptism*: and the same Things are to be taught those that are baptiz'd in their Infancy, before their Baptism is compleated by *Confirmation*. The Heads of which Baptismal Instruction, as they are contain'd in the Apostolical Constitutions, are as follows. A Catechumen must be taught the Knowledge of the unbegotten God the Father: the Acknowledgement of his only begotten Son: and that full Assurance which is deriv'd from the Holy Ghost. He must learn in what order God made the several Parts of the World; with the Series of his Providence towards it; and what distinct Laws he has given to Mankind. He must be instructed why God made the World; and in particular why he plac'd Man as the Principal visible Creature



Creature therein: and what is his own proper Nature and Constitution as a Man. He must be inform'd how God punished the Wickedness of Men by the Flood, and by the burning of *Sodom and Gomorrha*; but rewarded and advanc'd the Godly in every Generation; as *Setb*, and *Enos*, and *Enoch*, and *Noah*, and *Abraham*, with his Posterity; and *Melchisedech*, and *Job*, and *Moses*, and *Joshua*, and *Caleb*, and *Phineas* the Priest, and the rest of the Saints in their several Ages; and how God out of his providential Care did not cast off Mankind; but called Men in the several Ages of the World from Error and Vanity to the Acknowledgement of the Truth; in order to reduce them from Slavery and Impiety, unto Liberty and Piety; from Unrighteousness to Righteousness; from Eternal Death unto Everlasting Life. He must also be farther Instructed afterward concerning the Incarnation and Passion of our Lord, his Resurrection from the Dead, and Ascension into Heaven. Furthermore, when the Catechumen is almost ready to be baptiz'd, he must learn his Duty as to the Renunciation of the Devil, and Dedication of himself to Christ, which he is to perform at Baptism. For he must first forsake all Things contrary to his Christian Profession, and after that be admitted to the Christian Mysteries. He must first purify his Mind from all naughty Affections, from all Spots and Wrinkles, and then partake of the Holy Things. For as a wise Husbandman will first cleanse his Field from the Thorns which have sprung up in it, and will then, but not before, sow his Corn therein; So are the Ministers of Christ to do in this Matter; first to purge Men from all Wickedness; and then to instruct them in the Rules of Piety; and so admit them to the Priviledge of Baptism. For so did our Lord himself exhort us; saying, first *Teach all Nations*; and then he added, *Baptize them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

[ *There*

[Then the Surety for the Infant to be baptiz'd says thus, looking Westward.]

I, in the Name of this Child, renounce the Devil, and his Works, and his Poms, and his Worship, and his Angels, and his Inventions, and all Things that are under him.

[Then the Surety goes on thus, turning Eastward.]

I do also, In the Name of this Child, dedicate myself to Christ: and do believe, and am to be baptiz'd into the One unbegotten Being, the Only True God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all Things; From whom are all Things. And in the Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, the First-born of every Creature, who was begotten by the good Will of the Father before the World began; By whom all Things were made which are in Heaven and on Earth, visible and invisible: who in the last Days descended from Heaven, and took Flesh, and was born of the Holy Virgin Mary, and conversed Holily, according to the Laws of his God and Father; and was crucify'd under *Pontius Pilate*, and dyed for us; and the Third Day after his Suffering rose again from the Dead, and ascended into the Heavens; and is sat down at the Right Hand of the Father; and shall come again at the End of the World with Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead: of whose Kingdom there shall be no End. I am also to be baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is the Comforter; who wrought in all the Saints from the beginning of the World; and was afterward sent down upon the Apostles, from the Father, according to the Promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; and after his Descent on the Apostles was sent down upon all Believers in the Holy Catholick Church. I am also to be baptiz'd into the Resurrection of the Flesh;

into



into the Remission of Sins; into the Kingdom of Heaven; and into the Life of the World to come.

[*Then the Bishop, or Presbyter uses this Eucharistical, or Consecration Prayer.* ]

We bless thee, We glorify thee, O Lord God Almighty, the Father of the Only begotten God: We give Thanks to thee that thou hast sent thy Son to be Incarnate for our Sakes, and for our Salvation; that he submitted to become like a Man in all Things, that he might preach the Kingdom of Heaven, the Remission of Sins, and the Resurrection of the Dead. We also adore thee, O thou only begotten God the Son, after the supreme God, and by his Appointment; and give thee Thanks that thou hast undergone Death for all Mankind, even the Death of the Cross; a Representation whereof thou hast given us in this Baptism of Regeneration. We also glorify thee, O God the Father, that thou, who art the Lord of all Things, for the Sake of Christ, in the Holy Spirit, hast not utterly rejected Mankind; but in the several past Ages hast all along us'd various Dispensations of thy Providence for their Sake. Accordingly, when *Adam* was in Paradise, thou in the first Place didst assign him that very Paradise for an Habitation of Pleasure. Afterwards, as an Instance of thy Providence, thou gav'st him a Command to try his Obedience to thee: and when, upon his Disobedience, thou didst justly drive him out of Paradise, yet, out of thy Goodness, didst thou not cast him off for ever. Nay thou didst but as a Father chastise his Posterity after him. And on his Account, in the End of the World, thou hast sent thy Son to become Man for the Sake of Men; and to take upon him all the Passions of human Nature, Sin only excepted. Look down therefore, O Lord God, from Heaven upon us in the Celebration of this thy Ordinance of  
Baptism;

Baptism ; and sanctify this Water for that Holy Purpose. Bestow upon it Grace and Power, that this Infant now to be baptiz'd therein, according to the Command of thy Christ, may be crucify'd with him, and dy with him, and be buryed with him, and rise again with him to the Adoption of Children which is by him : that so he may dye to Sin, and live unto Righteousness : through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

[ *Then let the Bishop, or Presbyter dip the Infant Thrice under Water, at the distinct Names of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in the usual Form of Baptism.* ]

N. I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

[ *Then let the Bishop or Presbyter return Thanks in this or the like Manner.* ]

O Lord God, who art Unbegotten, and the Lord, the Ruler and Governour of all Things : who hast spread the Light of thy Gospel throughout all the World : We yield thee hearty Thanks that it hath pleas'd thee to regenerate this Infant by Baptism, and to receive him for thine own Child by Adoption, and to incorporate him into thy Holy Church. And humbly we beseech thee to grant that he being dead unto Sin, and living unto Righteousness, may, when he grows up, shew that he has been, by Baptism, buried with Christ in his Death ; that he may really crucify the old Man, and rise again to newness of Life. So that finally, with the Residue of thy Holy Church, he may be an Inheritor of thine Everlasting Kingdom. And give every one of us Grace that we may always remember that Baptism does represent unto us our Profession, which is to follow the Example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made  
like



like unto him ; that as he dyed and rose again for us, so may we who are baptiz'd dy from Sin, and rise again unto Righteousness ; continually mortifying all our Evil and corrupt Affections, and daily proceeding in all Vertue and Godliness of living.

[Then all standing up, and turning to the East, the Bishop or Presbyter shall conclude with the Lords Prayer: adding the usual Blessing.]

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all evermore.

*A Collect to be us'd next after the Lords Prayer, by such adult Persons as are newly Baptiz'd ; which is proper for Confirmation, as to those that are baptized in their Infancy ; taken out of the Constitutions. ]*

Almighty God, the Father of thy Christ, thine Only-begotten Son. Grant to me a Body undefil'd ; an Heart Pure ; a Mind watchful ; with the sure Knowledge of thee, and the Assistance of thy Holy Spirit : that I may fully understand and be establish'd in thy Truth : through thy Christ. By whom, Glory be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever.  
*Amen.*

About the same Time that this Sacred Office was drawn up, I happen'd to read over the Learned *Monfaucon's* accurate Account of the Life of *Athanasius* : which appear'd to me a very remarkable One, and such an One as deserv'd a Nicer Review, especially as compar'd with other Facts and Observations belonging to him ; and indeed such an one as afforded Suspicions of not a few Instances of *Insincerity*, if not of direct *Forgery* also. Upon this I read it over again more carefully, and with a watchful Eye upon several Particulars therein related : which did now more plainly appear lyable to the same Suspicions.

This occasion'd my drawing up the following Paper upon that Subject, which I shall here therefore offer to the farther consideration of the Learned ; as being wholly New ; and highly worthy of the most exact Examination of the Church of Christ.

### S U S P I C I O N S concerning *Athanasius*.

It is well known that no small Part of the History of the Church, so far as belongs to the Fourth Century, and so far as the Christian Faith is therein concern'd, relies mainly upon the Writings and History of *Athanasius*; and that the Truth and Certainty of very many important Facts depend intirely, as to us, on the Integrity and Veracity of the same *Athanasius*. Now the Reasons why I dare not in such Matters believe Things on his sole Authority are these.

(1.) *Athanasius* was plainly a violent *Party-Man*, and the known *Head of a Party*: and is therefore to be no more depended on in Matters wherein himself and his own Affairs were peculiarly concern'd than others, the like *Party-Men*, and *Heads of Parties* are to be in parallel Cases. And I need not tell the Honest and Impartial, especially in this Age of Division and Faction, how little Regard is to be given to such Testimonies.

(2.) *Athanasius* was peculiarly the Author of a *New System of Divinity*, or the Author of a *New Sect in the Church*: whose *Language*, at least, and *Practices*, if not *Notions*, were most certainly unknown to the earlier Ages of Christianity. This is too plain to be deny'd ; and *Monfaucon* does in a Manner confess it: *Indicare ne pigeat*, says he, *cum nihil periculi ex indicio sit ; salvus semper & integris rebus, ac fide nihil mutatâ, multa Athanasii ævo, ejusque ope inducta Verba fuisse, & ad certam formam redacta fidei capita ; ut Pater hodiernæ Theologiæ jure ille*

*Pref. pag. 17.*



*ille vocari possit.* “ Give me leave, says he, freely to  
 “ Declare, since there is no Danger in such a De-  
 “ claration, that while the Things themselves and  
 “ the Church’s Faith have ever continued immuta-  
 “ bly the same, there were many new Words or  
 “ Terms of Art introduc’d into the Church in the  
 “ Age of *Athanasius*, and by his Means; and thence  
 “ the Articles of our Faith became fix’d and deter-  
 “ minate. Infomuch that *Athanasius* may justly be  
 “ stil’d *The Father of the Modern System of Divinity.*  
 And *Gregory Nazianzen* says thus, in his Panegyrick  
 upon our *Athanasius*: τὸ τοῦ ἡν νόμος αὐτοῖς Op Vol. II, p. 385.  
 εἶ, πᾶσι κείνῳ ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀπὸ μοῦτον πέλιον ὁ μὴ  
 ἐδόκει καὶ πλείους μωϋσέως αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐκείνε δόγματα καὶ πλείον τὸ σέ-  
 ρας ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀγίοις ὀφείλεται ---- νο-  
 μωθετοῖ δὲ ὀικουμίνῃ. “ What *Athanasius* pag. 392.  
 “ determin’d was a Law to the rest, and what he  
 “ disallowed was rejected by them. Nay his  
 “ Doctrines were the very *Mosaick* Tables of the  
 “ Law to them. The Honour that was paid him was  
 “ greater than what is due from Men to the Saints  
 “ themselves. Indeed He gave Laws to the whole  
 World. Now certainly when so bold and daring a  
 Person appears, who is not afraid to innovate so  
 vastly in the Christian Religion as this amounts to,  
 all true Lovers of the Antient Faith once deliver’d to  
 the Saints should be upon their Guard, and not rashly  
 believe all he says, lest he should prove to be one of  
 the Forerunners and Introducers of that Antichristian  
 State whom the Scriptures have so fully caution’d us  
 against; and of whom they give so dismal an Ac-  
 count beforehand.

(3.) A Person of his general Character, which I  
 take to be that of one Resolute, Ambitious, and Ty-  
 rannical; of admirable Parts, but little Learning,  
 and small Appearance of Sincerity; who would ne-  
 ver submit to either Emperor or Council; and who  
 would rather set the Christian World in a Com-  
 bustion

bustion on all Occasions than recede in the least from his Pretensions ; who reasons generally very weakly ; yet treats his Adversaries with the most unchristian Names of Reproach and Scorn possible ; and who still alter'd his Notions, or at least his Language as he saw Occasion, and as Matters would bear, and yet us'd plausible Words and Insinuations all along ; A Person, I say, of this general Character cannot but afford great Room for Suspicion to considering Men.

(4.) *Athanasius's* reproachful Account of the Origin of the *Meletians*, who afterward join'd with the *Arians*, against him, is so intirely different from that which *Epiphanius* gives us to their great Advantage, while yet *Epiphanius* was certainly Honest and Orthodox

pag. 1.

Heres. LXVIII.

enough not to be suspected of any Partiality to them, that we have great Reason to question *Athanasius's* Fidelity in this Matter. And the Council of *Nice* it self are known to have dealt so much more gently with these *Meletians* than they did with the *Arians*, and than *Athanasius* would have had them done, that the Suspicion is confirm'd that his Account was rather the Effect of hatred and ill will, than the real and exact Truth of their Case.

Vit. Athan. p. 10.

(5.) *Athanasius's* Works drawn up before the Rise of the *Arian* Controversy are so very different from those written afterward, as shew that Opposition and Disputation had quite alter'd and spoil'd the Man ; and that his later Writings are of small Authority. I wish the Honest Reader, that desires to see the true Doctrines of the Church, nay even of *Athanasius* himself, as they were taught and believ'd in his younger Days, and to adjust them with the other broach'd afterwards, would carefully compare his youthful noblest Treatises *Contra Gentes*, & *De Incarnatione Verbi* with the rest. Those containing, so far as



I can judge, in a Manner the same Doctrines that he afterwards so violently oppos'd under the Notion of *Arianism*. Nor need the Reader go elsewhere than to those Treatises of *Athanasius* himself to be satisfy'd what a mighty Change the same Person made in Christianity. This is certainly a Matter that highly deserves every good Christian's serious Consideration.

(6.) *Athanasius* and others from him tell us an incredible Story about the *Meletian* Bishop *Arsenius*, viz. That when *Athanasius* had been solemnly and publickly accus'd of killing this *Arsenius*, and of the cutting his Hand after he was dead; which dead Hand was shew'd publickly also; yet that he produc'd the Man alive before his Judges with both his Hands unhurt; nay and receiv'd a submissive Letter from him afterwards: whilst the *Arians* did still all his Life notwithstanding accuse him publickly upon all Occasions of the same Murder. This seems to me utterly incredible, that he should ever be charg'd with the Murder of a Person who yet, if *Athanasius* says true, must have been known by all the World to be still alive. Nor does his Introduction of *Arsenius's* and the Emperor's Letters, which imply his being alive, at all satisfy me. For not to say that we have no Assurance that any pretended Person was the true *Arsenius*, or the Hand produc'd real, we have certainly no other Evidence for even these Letters but *Athanasius* himself: which he knew how to produce for his Purpose as Occasion should serve. And one great Reason of Suspicion here is that the same Emperor *Constantine*, whose Letter does in this Case so justify *Athanasius*, and expresse his Wonder at the Impudence of the Charge of murdering one who was still alive among them, did yet soon banish him notwithstanding. And certainly had *Athanasius* had such undeniable Vouchers for his Innocence as he long afterward publish'd, he needed not have run away from the Council of *Tyre* as he did, for fear not only of being condemn'd

demn'd, but even of being torn in Pieces also at the same Time.

(7.) The Story and strange Miracles of *Anthony*, the Father of the *Egyptian* Monks, and thereby of the Modern Monkery in general, does above all Things make *Athanasius* suspected. As the true Miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles do undoubtedly establish the Christian Doctrine; but if they were known to be either false or diabolical would as undoubtedly destroy its Reputation; So in good Measure does it seem to me to be with *Anthony* and his pretended Miracles, with Relation to *Athanasius* and his Doctrines. If these be true and divine they do indeed seem Authentick Credentials to the Person and Cause of *Athanasius*: But if they be either false or diabolical *Athanasius* and his Cause must sink with them. For they are not only produc'd and attested to by *Athanasius* himself, and that sometimes as done before his Face; in his Life of this *Anthony*; but they seem to have been design'd, contriv'd, and alledg'd both by *Anthony* and *Athanasius* on purpose for Testimonials to the *Athanasian* Cause and Doctrine: as the Sagacious Reader will observe in his Perusal of them. Now that this Life of *Anthony* is not written sincerely by *Athanasius* is plain by several Circumstances; besides the general wild incredible Nature of the Things and of the Miracles themselves. *Athanasius* says that *Anthony* was wholly

*Vit. Ant.* §. 1. & 73.

§. 16. &c.

§. 72. &c.

§ 86 with Hist.

*Ariom ad Monach.*

§. 14.

*Illiterate.* Yet does he tell us of his fine Discourses, and of his Letter to the Emperor for him. Yet does he set down a Notable Answer of his to some Philosophers, full of heathen Learning. *Athanasius* also, in one Place, tell us of a Judgment executed on *Balacius*, one of his Enemies, by an Horse on which that Enemy of his rode; and in another that it was that Horse on which *Nestorius* rode, and not *Balacius*. Nay *Athanasius* tells us that *Anthony*, when he dy'd, order'd that Cloke which himself had given

ven



ven him to be restor'd to him again : yet has *Jerom* assur'd us that it had many Years before been assign'd for the Burial of *Paul* the Monk, by the same *Anthony*. In short, those who take *Athanasius* to have been that great and good Man the Orthodox suppose, must also believe him in his Life of *Anthony*, the best attested of all his Works ; which yet is next to impossible to be done without receiving all the like vain Legends and Miracles which have been so common since the Days of *Athanasius*, tho' not heard of before ; and which are frequently pretended to in the Church of *Rome* at this very Day. But for the rest, the truly Learned and Judicious, who will readily discover the Knavery or worse Original of these Miracles of Antichrist, whose coming was to be after the working of Satan, with all Power, and Signs, and lying Wonders ; they ought in Consequence thereof to give up their Author *Anthony*, and their Abettor *Athanasius* ; and no longer engage their Belief to such Stories and Doctrines as come in so very Suspicious a Manner recommended to them.

*Vit. Ant. §. 92.*

*Chron & Vit. Paul.*

*.2 Thes. II. 9*

(8.) *Athanasius's* Character of the Principal *Arians* is not only unsupported by other contemporary Authors, unless by his fellow Heretick *Maroellus*, but is directly contrary to that of *Eusebius* ; whose Integrity is yet too well known, as well as his Abilities, to have those of *Athanasius* come in the least Competition with them.

*Vit. Athan. p. 26.*

(9.) *Athanasius's* Story of the miserable Death of his Enemy *Arius* is not only contrary to *Rufinus*, who relates his being alive till the Reign of *Constantius* ; but very suspicious in itself. He says it happen'd in the Reign of *Constantine* at *Constantinople*, under its Bishop *Alexander*, and in the most publick Manner possible : so that not only *Egypt* but the whole Christian World must have rung of it presently, in Case it had been true. Yet Twenty Years afterward

*Ecccl. Hist. L.I.6.13.*

is he forc'd to write an Account of it to the *Egyptian* Bishops, to secure them to his own Orthodoxy: nay a little after he is again oblig'd, tho' with great Reluctancy, to write it more largely to *Serapion*, as a grand Preservative against the *Arians*: but still with these Cautions that no Copy of his Epistles be taken, not by *Serapion* himself, nor by any of those Monks among whom he took Care to spread the same Story, but that it be safely return'd to him again. And he seems to intimate that he saw no other so certain way of putting a stop to some Disputes of the *Arians*, as by this Story, which he suppos'd would effectually do it. And if the *Chronicon Paschale* or *Alexandrinum* be right, this very *Alexander*, who in this Account was the Bishop of *Constantinople* therein concern'd, had been then dead no less than Six Years before. All these Circumstances afford such obvious Occasion for Suspicion, especially when the Story is pretended to come only by his Presbyter *Macarius*, so famous or rather infamous in the History of *Athanasius*, that I shall not need to enlarge upon them.

(10.) I shall shew elsewhere that tis highly probable that this *Athanasius* made and impos'd a spurious and ill-digested *Epitome of the Apostolical Constitutions* on the Churches of *Ethiopia* for the genuine ones; with the Omission of all that contradicted his Notions: which *Epitome* is intire in *Ethiopick*, and part of it still extant in *Greek* also at this Day.

(11.) I shall also shew elsewhere that tis highly probable this *Athanasius* cited the *Spurious Copies of Ignatius's Epistles* lately made by his Friend *Marcellus* or some of his Party, for the genuine ones; and that at the same Time when he discovers his Knowledge of the true Copies also: nay that he certainly cites *Ignatius* that our Saviour is *ἀγέννητος*, *unbegotten*, contrary



contrary to the known Doctrine of *Ignatius*, and of all the first Writers of Christianity.

(12.) The famous Quotation which *Athanasius* makes out of *Origen* for the Eternity and *Consubstantiality* of our Saviour is so very Suspicious, as to its being Genuine, that *Petavius*, that Learned Jesuit, cannot here forbear to cry out thus. *Hæc plane mirifica sunt: ac si quis alius quam Athanasius fidem faceret talia ab Origine esse scripta, profecto a Catholicis quibusdam intexta fuisse libris Origenis haud absurda foret suspicio.* and this is the more to be suspected because *Ferom* particularly accuses *Origen* as being against that Eternity; and because he does most certainly stile Christ the *Antientest* of all Creatures.

*De Decret. Synod. Nicæn. § 27.*

*De Trin. L. I. C. 4. §. 6.*

*Contr. Cels. L. V. pag. 257.*

(13.) The pretended Epistle of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* for the *ὁμοῖος* and Eternity of our Saviour, is so different from the Stile of the Third, and so like that of the Fourth Century; is so wholly omitted by *Eusebius* in his Account of him; is so intirely contrary to the known Doctrine of the same *Dionysius*, as we are assur'd from an unquestionable Witness *Basil* himself; nay does so plainly contradict what *Athanasius* cannot deny to have been the Expressions of the same *Dionysius* elsewhere, as well as the Decrees of that Council of *Antioch* whither he had gone but for extreme old Age, that no Manner of Dependance can be had thereon.

*De Synod §. 43. &c.*

*De Decret. Synod.*

*Nic. §. 25*

*De Sentent. Dionys.*

*§. 1. &c.*

*Basil. Ep. 41.*

(14.) The Quotation also from *Theognostus* against the *Arians* is by no means free from Suspicion: since *Photius* himself, who saw the same Books that are cited by *Athanasius*, fairly confesses that he is on the *Arian* side, as therein directly owning that Christ was a *Creature*. Nay farther, it is to be exceedingly remark'd that since these

*De Decret. Synod.*

*Nicæn. §. 25.*

*Cod. CVI.*

these

these four, *Ignatius*, *Origen*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* and *Theognostus* are, besides *Pope Dionysius*, all the Antient Fathers whom *Athanasius* any where cites against the *Arians*; (and those certainly a poor Number for a Writer then to alledge; ) and since it does not appear that he has cited any one of them fairly, but the contrary; we hence learn either that the Antients were all against the *Athanasians*, and that *Athanasius* was plainly forc'd to prevaricate and forge; or that he was an Ignoramus, and knew nothing of their Opinions himself, but was impos'd on by others. At the least we learn that his Testimony and Authority is worth nothing, nor to be at all depended on by any Body in these Matters.

(15.) But that all this cannot be charg'd on his Ignorance, but is in part deriv'd from his Knavery, is evident not only from the Strength of his Parts in general, not easily lyable to Imposition; but from the known Case of the Council of *Antioch* in particular; which, as himself, as well as *Basil* and *Hilary*,

*De Synod.* §. 43.  
*Basil. Epist.* 300.  
*Hilar. de Synod.*  
 §. 81.

does not deny, did expressly affirm of our Saviour *ἐκ ἐστῆς οὐσίας*, that he was not *Consubstantial* to the Father: while the Council of *Nice* affirm'd the direct contrary in so many

Words. Yet will not he own the two Councils to be of different Opinions: no not when he cannot pretend to have any Records in the World to reconcile them by; no more than *Hilary* and *Basil*: yet do our Modern Writers for Orthodoxy follow them also, and will needs have them to be both for the *Athanasian* Doctrine notwithstanding. Sure the Church was never so grossly cheated as it has been in this Controversy; not only to be made to believe that Doctrines are true and certain without any Foundation in Antiquity; but that those very Men, at least Seventy in Number, who expressly condemn a Doctrine, did yet believe it all the while. I do not see at this



Rate why hereafter I may not be found to be an *Athanasian* also, notwithstanding my direct writing against him. Who knows but my Words may be capable of some witty Reconciliation hereafter, as it seems *Athanasius* found to be between those of the two Councils before us, notwithstanding the expressness of the Contradiction between their Determinations? I am willing to hope that *Basil* and *Hilary* only followed *Athanasius* blindly in this Matter; otherwise that Comparative very good Opinion I have of their Probity and Integrity would soon diminish. But what to say for the really Learned and Judicious among the Orthodox Moderns, who in other Matters are never to be so impos'd upon, I do not know. But to go on.

(16.) *Athanasius*, when he and his Doctrine had been at last condemn'd by the great *Hosius*, pretends in Excuse and Vindication that the same *Hosius* at his Death declar'd that what he had done in that Matter was by Compulsion; and that *Hosius* did then anathematize the *Arians*. This is a famous *νεκτηριον* by which the Fidelity of *Athanasius* may easily be try'd. *Hosius* was a western Bishop, and died in *Spain*: so the western Writers are the only Authentick Witnesses in this Case. To them therefore let us appeal. Now here *Hilary*, the grand western Fountain of Orthodoxy and *Phæbadius*, not much less Orthodox than the other, are so far from any such Hopes of *Hosius*, that the former calls the famous *Arian* Creed of *Sirmium* the *Blasphemy of Hosius*, as if he were the Principal Composer and Patron of it: and ever writes against him after that as an *Arian*, without the least Hopes of his recovery, or Tidings of Recantation. and the latter agrees exactly with the former Account.

*Hist. Arias. ad  
Mon. S. 45.*

*Hilar. de Synod. S.  
10. 11. 63.*

*Phæbad. contr. A-  
rian in Calce.*

Nay we have still nearer Witnesses, two Orthodox Presbyters, by Name *Marcellinus* and *Fausfinus* who liv'd also in the West where *Hosius* dy'd: and these are so far from any Confirmation of *Athanasius's* Story that they tell us *Hosius*

*Ad Imperat. Ap. Bibliothec. Patr. Max. Tom. V. p. 655.*

was not only become an *Arian*, but a zealous one also; insomuch that the Orthodox complain'd of him as of one of their Persecutors; and that he dy'd upon one of his Acts of Persecution against them. Nor does *Monfaucon* himself seem here willing to engage in *Athanasius's* Vindication. So that he stands here convicted of falsehood by the Attestation of four Substantial Witnesses of his own Party.

(17.) *Athanasius* relates so many Stories that are almost incredible; and produces so many pretended Letters and Monuments which are wholly unsupported by any other Original Testimonies, and sometimes but ill agree with Chronology, that there is the greatest Reason in the World to suspect many of them to be direct *Forgeries*. Had the Violence of the Orthodox spared us the Writings of the *Arians*, tis very likely all might still be detected. But they have taken Care to destroy or drop those Books which they could not Answer; and so seem to defy all Attempts of this Nature. Yet do not I think the Case quite desperate, if any sagacious and honest Man would go about it. I heartily wish the late Learned Writer of the *History of Montanism* could lay aside his Byass for common Notions, and would set himself about such an Enquiry. Since I doubt not but he would soon discover not only the Prevarication and Tricks of *Athanasius*; but the true Origin of *Athanasianism*; I mean he would soon clearly find, what he has already much

*Vit. Athan. p. 71.*

*See his Life p. 24.*

25. 26. 27. 30. 34.

35. 37. 39. 41. 42.

43. 44. 46. 47. 48.

51. 52. 53. 56. 61.

62. 63. 65. 66. 67.

68. 75. 77. 82. 83.

*Op. p. 269. 295.*

338. 339. 349.



adoc to avoid seeing, that *Athanasianism* is no other than a Remote Branch of *Montanism*; as convey'd down in *Galatia* and *Ancyra* to the Heretick *Marcellus*, and by him to his known Friend and Companion *Athanasius*. However, These *Suspensions* seem to me to bear so hard upon *Athanasius*, that the Orthodox, who do so very much rely on his Authority for their *History*, their *Faith*, their *Worship*, and their *whole System*, must be oblig'd either to vindicate him throughly from the same, or give up this whole Controversy, and return to the old State of primitive Christianity, as it obtain'd in the Church before that Unhappy Forerunner of *Antichrist* appear'd in the World.

W. W. July 5. 1710.

But to leave this Matter, and to proceed.

Not very long after I had drawn up this Paper I made an Attempt to rectify the *Doxologies* in our Singing Psalms at *Cambridge*. The Case was this. I had been employ'd by the Stewards for the Charity Schools to select the most proper Parts of the new Version of the Psalms by *Dr. Brady* and *Mr. Tate*, for the Use of the Charity Schools and Parishes in *Cambridge*: which I had done accordingly. But when I came to the End, and was to add the *Doxologies*, I saw them so different from those in the first Times of the Church, especially as to the *Holy Ghost*, and the stiling the Three Persons *One God*, that I made new ones exactly agreeable to the Antients and recommended them to the Ministers for their Approbation and Use by a Paper which I drew up for that Purpose: and which here follows with the *Doxologies* themselves.

GLORIA.

# GLORIA PATRI, &c.

*According to the Antients.*

Common Measure.

**T**O God the Father, through the Son,  
 And in the Holy Ghost,  
 Be Glory now, and ever paid,  
 By us, and all his Host.

*As Psalm 25, &c.*

O Father, through thy Son,  
 To thee all Glory be;  
 By thy good Spirit's aid, until  
 Thy blessed Face we see.

*As the 100. Psalm, &c.*

To the Great Lord of all the World,  
 The God whom Earth and Heav'n adore,  
 Be Glory, as it was of Old,  
 is now, and shall be evermore.

*As Psalm 37, and the last part of the  
 113th Psalm Tune.*

To Thee, Almighty Lord of Hosts,  
 (Thro' thy dear Son, and Holy Ghost,)  
 whom we and all the World adore;  
 Be Glory, Adoration, Praise,  
 Obedience, Worship, all our Days  
 'till Time it self shall be no more.



As Psalm 148, &c.

To the most Glorious Name  
Of our Creator, blest,  
Who Heav'n and Earth did frame  
All Worship be address'd ;  
As heretofore  
it was, is now,  
and shall be so  
For evermore.

*Reasons for the Doxologies.*

The known Books of Scripture never mention the Holy Ghost in any Doxology. So that depends intirely on the Apostolical Constitutions.

Those Constitutions expressly appoint this Form of Divine Worship to be *To the Father, through the Son, and in the Holy Ghost* : to which *Athanasius* exactly agrees. L. VI. C. 14.  
Op. p. 694.

Accordingly those Constitutions generally now have, and always Originally had that Particle *in* as to the Holy Ghost. For where alone the present Copies have now sometimes *and*, we know from *Justin Martyr* that it was otherwise Originally ; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* agrees with his Form.

This Particle is most frequent in all the old Books still at this Day. *Athanasius* often uses it. He rarely ventures on *in*, and never, that I have observ'd, upon *in*. *Basil* has a large Discourse upon this very Subject, to vindicate himself from the Charge of changing *in* into *in* or *in*. and plainly confesses that *in* is the most unquestionable Form, which he says he will not lay aside. He owns that the others need Apology for their

*Vid Op. p. 97. 238.  
294. 336. 393.  
701. 714. 961.*

*De Spir. S.*

their Use, and he tries how high he can trace them: which is, even in private Authors, no earlier than the beginning of the Third Century. He would fain have it believ'd that Originally these others had been sometimes us'd; but his Adversaries utterly deny'd it; and it does not appear to have been so by any certain Evidence.

Our Church has not concern'd herself in the singing Psalms. So these Forms are not against any Legal Settlement at all.

The calling the Three Persons *One God*, or *the One God*, in any Doxologies is without all Example in our Publick Liturgy, or other valuable Records, that I remember: and came in only from the Poets to make up their Verses; and so ought most certainly to be laid aside. If such a Way of Speaking be ventur'd upon by any, where the Church enjoyns it, yet sure there is no Occasion to put it in where the Church has laid no Injunction.

These Forms are undoubtedly right, and can be scrupled by no Christian: whereas the common ones are not such. I should be sorry after my sincere Pains about the Charity Schools, and this Collection of Psalms for them and the Parishes, that the Doxologies after all should be such that I could not in Conscience join in them. Nor shall I give my Consent and Assistance for the other, unless the Bishop over rules the Matter against me.

*Camb. Aug. 20. 1710.*

WILL. WHISTON.

But my Labour was in vain: the Ministers themselves Over-rul'd me, and order'd the Doxologies to be added. All I could do was to take Care that my Doxologies should be printed at the End of a single hundred of the Copies, which were to be at my own Charge, for my own Use, and the Use of some  
Friends,



Friends, that might be willing to Glorify the Father *through* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost, according to the Original Appointment of the Apostles ; and not to go along with common Custom, without, if not against all that Sacred Authority whereby we ought to be guided in such Matters of Divine Worship and Adoration.

The next Thing which I shall present the Reader withal in this Preface shall be a true Copy of my Third Letter to our most Reverend Metropolitans, before I set about the Actual Publication of my Papers ; which was in these Words.

*May it please your Grace.*

*Camb. Sep. 5. 1710.*

Since I have now compleated my Designs, and am going to Print my *Dissertation on Ignatius's Epistles*, with the *Epistles* themselves ; my *Essay on the Constitutions*, with the *Constitutions* themselves ; and my *Account of the Primitive Faith* of Christians, severally, in the Order wherein they are here mention'd ; I thought it would become me to acquaint your Grace with it ; that still, if your Grace and the rest of the Bishops please, all or any of these may come to a solemn and publick Examination before they are printed. I plainly find that hitherto the Learned are no ways able to oppose the Evidence that I have in these Matters : as indeed I have all along known that it was too strong to be oppos'd. But how sensible soever any of them may begin to be of this, till they are impowr'd and commission'd by those in Authority freely to examin, and as freely to declare the Result of such their Examination, there will be little Appearance of their generally owning the Truth of what I have proved on these Subjects ; nay not much of fair, full, and impartial Examination neither. The Reasons of which are very obvious to those that know how far Education, Prepossession, worldly

H Interest

Interest; fears for the Reputation of Parties, and Dread of the greatness of the Alterations to be made in Faith, Worship, Practice, and Discipline do Byass and Influence Mankind. However, Since I am not to judge for your Grace, and the rest of our Governours, but only for my self, and concerning my own Duty in these Matters, I must content my self to act upon the Supposition that no publick and Solemn Examination will be allow'd my Papers before their Publication: and so I must make them as compleat as I can with what private Assistance I have been able to obtain; and leave the farther Success to the good Providence of God. Which good Providence, I believe, will so support and uphold these sacred Truths and Books of Christianity, that no Opposition nor Persecution will be able to suppress them; but that they will gradually obtain and prevail till all end at last in Christs glorious Kingdom of Peace and Holiness. In the Preface to the whole Collection, which is Historical, I shall be oblig'd to print your Graces Letter to me formerly, with other the like Letters and Papers, which are absolutely necessary to such a Design; for publick Information, for the Satisfaction of the Church, and for my own Vindication. A true Account of these Discoveries, of their Times, Occasions, Circumstances, and of the fairness of my procedure all along being a Debt due from me to the Christian Church, to my own Reputation, and to these great Truths themselves. I have put the *Account of the Primitive Faith* last, tho' it was first written; that so it may still be ready for publick examination before tis printed, as long as possible, even after the preceding Parts are in the Press. I could add many more things here not unworthy of your Graces Notice: But since your Grace was not pleas'd to return any Answer to my second Letter, I cannot with any assurance promise my self one to this; so I shall satisfy my self in giving your  
Grace



Grace this Information before I proceed any farther ; that no blame may any way lye upon me in this matter. I beg your Graces Blessing, and subscribe my self

Your most Dutiful and  
Obedient Servant

W I L L. W H I S T O N.

To which Letter I received no Reply at all; and so do look upon my self as at perfect Liberty to proceed in the Publication of this and of my other Papers, as I before intended, without any farther Application to any one about them. However, I resolv'd to try one more Method of Examination with Relation to the Apostolical Constitutions before I publish'd them, than I had hitherto done; *viz.* to search not only the Greek, but the Arabick Records relating to them in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Accordingly, towards the End of the last September, I went my self to Oxford, with a Person Excellently Skill'd in the Arabick Language: where, upon a little Enquiry, my evidence for their most sacred Authority became most unquestionable. For I there found, besides many lesser Testimonies, not only the Attestations of the most ancient, and perhaps inspired Author of the second Book of Apocryphal *Esdras* at once corrected and confirm'd by the Arabick Copy there; but I discover'd also, what I look upon as really inestimable, two distinct Arabick MSS. of that ancient sacred Book of our Religion call'd the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, which in the Days of *Eusebius* was reckon'd with *Barnabas* and *Hermas*, if not also with the *Apocalypse* it self; and is cited for Apostolical by *Origen* himself, but has been lost in the West for all these latter ages; and upon the Comparison I perceiv'd that it was  
taken

taken out of the Original Constitutions themselves; and that generally *verbatim*; nay and that in the Preface the Apostles intimate plainly, what I had before learned from other Evidence, that the Constitutions were repositied in some particular Churches, and not publish'd; while this large and most authentick Extract was sent to all the Churches for the Common Edification of all Christians; to the putting an End to this Dispute for ever.

Thus, Christian Reader, I have faithfully brought down this History to the present time. And a History it seems to me, of how narrow, and confin'd a nature soever as containing the Letters and Papers of a few persons only, yet of very considerable importance in it self, and plainly due to the Church of Christ from me. I could have made it much larger, with great ease; and inserted many more Letters from no inconsiderable persons both of our own Church and of the Dissenters hereto relating, with several of my Answers to them. But being unwilling to be tedious, and to discover more of the private intercourse among friends than was necessary for publick Satisfaction, and for my own Vindication, I forbear to enlarge any farther. May God of his infinite mercy prosper all well-meant endeavors for the purity of the Faith and Practice of Christians: and may I be enabled so

1 Cor. IX. 27. to Beat under my own body, with all its corrupt affections, and bring them into Subjection, that when I have preach'd or proclaim'd the pure and undefil'd religion of Christ to others, I may not my self become a Castaway.

Octob. 4. 1710.

WILL. WHISTON.



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# APPENDIX.

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*An ACCOUNT of the Author's  
Prosecution at, and Banishment from the  
University of Cambridge.*

**U**PON *Sunday, Octob. 22. 1710.* (on which Day a Sermon in Defence of the *Athanasian Creed* was preach'd by Mr. *Hughes* of *Jesus College*, at *St. Mary's*;) I was Summon'd by Mr. *Atwood* of *Pembroke*, Deputy-Beadle, to appear before the Vicechancellor the next Day, at Three a Clock in the Afternoon. Accordingly, I was that Day about Four a Clock, conducted into an Upper-Room of the Vicechancellor's Lodge; and appeared before Dr. *Roderick*, Provost of *King's College*, the Vicechancellor; Sir *John Ellis*, Knight, Master of *Caius College*; Dr. *James*, Master of *Queen's*, Regius Professor of Divinity; Dr. *Blitbe*, Master of *Clare-Hall*; Dr. *Balderston*, Master of *Emmanuel*; Dr. *Cowel*, Master of *Christ's*; Dr. *Richardson*, Master of *Peter-House*; Dr. *Ashton*, Master of *Jesus*; Dr. *Fisher*, Master of *Sidney*; and Dr. *Lany*, Master of *Pembroke*: The University Register, Mr. *Grove* of *St. John's*, being there also. Where note, that the Lord Bishop of *Chester*, Master of *Catherine-*  
A Hall,

Hall, tho' newly come to Town, never appear'd with the Heads at any of their Meetings about me ; but, *publickly at least*, kept himself wholly unconcern'd in the Matter.

I came to the Vicechancellor's Lodge with a Friend, whose Presence and Assistance I desir'd. But he was not permitted to go up Stairs : So I was all alone before my Judges. I was then immediately shewed a Book by Mr. Vicechancellor, and ask'd whether I would look upon it, and own it to be mine. Perceiving that it was the *Sermons and Essays upon several Subjects*, I reply'd, that I would not Answer any such Questions ; nor would I so much as look upon the Book : Affirming that all which I had to say was in a written Paper in my Hands. Neither would I make other Answer : tho' then, and all along, many ensnaring Questions were put to me. But when I still persisted in the same Answers, the Vicechancellor, who with the rest seem'd much surpriz'd at this cautious Conduct of mine, was oblig'd to call for other Evidence. Accordingly Mr. *Crownfield*, our Printer, (who had been terrify'd, and threaten'd with being turn'd out of his Place by some of the Heads, for barely permitting his Boy to carry the *Proposals* for Printing my *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* to them ; which *Proposals* of mine are annexed to this Appendix) was sent for, and depos'd so much as amounted to *probable Evidence*, That I had sent the small *Essay upon the Epistles of Ignatius*, to be dispers'd in Cambridge ; and that I had sent a Letter to the Vicechancellor, [which is set down already, p. 84, &c.] and to *plain Proof*, that I desir'd his Boy might carry the foremention'd *Proposals* to the several Heads of Colleges the *Tuesday* before ; but could say nothing to the *Sermons and Essays on several Subjects*. The *Regius* Professor particularly wondred that I would not clear Mr. *Crownfield*, by owning the sending the *Proposals* ; and intimated, that he suppos'd the Vicechancellor would also have



an Order from the Chancery, to oblige Mr. *Benj. Tooke* the Bookseller to come from *London*, to prove the *Sermons and Essays* upon me, and to inform them how they came to *Cambridge*. I said that it was not yet time to say all I intended: But that when I made my proper Answer it would be time enough to think of such things. That I had been accustom'd to Reason, Arguments, and Testimonies, but not to Law: So I had taken Advice as to my Answers, and observ'd the same Advice all along: Which he own'd it was reasonable for me to do, as one that he believ'd had never before been us'd to such Legal Proceedings. He also took notice of an Expression of mine in my Letter to the Vicechancellor, before-mention'd, as if I were apprehensive of somewhat like *Persecution* that might befall me: And he added, that he durst say, *No Body there had any Intention to Persecute me*. About this time it was that the Depositions of Mr. *Hughes* and Mr. *Townsend* of *Jesus*; of Mr. *Amyas* and Mr. *Macro* of *Caius*; and of Mr. *Thackham* of *King's*; (which were in Part, if not wholly obtain'd by the Vicechancellor's Procurement, not by the voluntary Appearance of the Parties themselves) were openly read to me, as they here follow, *Verbatim*.

*Certificates, afterward depos'd upon Oath.*

I well remember, that hearing Mr. *Whiston* one *Sunday* in the Afternoon, at the Parish-Church of *St. Clements*, in the Town of *Cambridge*, explaining the First Article of the Apostle's Creed; having established the Unity of the Godhead by several proper Arguments, he asserted, There was but One God, and that God the Father only was that One God; That the Father was in all the Ancient and Primitive Creeds mentioned to be the Only God; That the Son was indeed exalted above all Creatures, and made a Partaker of many Divine Excellencies and

## 4      A P P E N D I X.

Perfections, and as such he was to be worshipp'd with a sort or degree of Divine Worship. This is the Substance of what I heard the said Mr. *Whiston* deliver in that Lecture. There were several other very black and aggravating Expressions, which in so long a space of time have slipp'd my Memory. But as to the Truth of this, I am ready and willing to give my Oath.

JOHN HUGHES.

In the Year 1708. in the Parish-Church of *St. Clement's* in *Cambridge*, I heard Mr. *Whiston* in one of his Catechetical Lectures upon the Apostle's Creed, deliver these Words, or Words to this Effect; *viz.* As to the Dignity of our Saviour's Person, tho' he be a Being of vastly great and immense Perfections, yet I cannot say, as some do, that he is equal to God the Father: Because I should contradict my Blessed Saviour himself, who says expressly, *My Father is greater than I.* Neither can I assert, that he is Omniscient; for if I should, I should contradict my Blessed Saviour himself, who says, He knew not of the Day of Judgment. *Of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man, no not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* Neither can I assert, that he is Essentially Good; For then also I should contradict my Blessed Lord and Saviour himself, who to a certain Ruler that called him *Good Master*, said, *Why callest thou me Good? None is Good, save One, that is God.*

Octob. 19. 1710.

Witness my Hand,

SA. TOWNSEND.

The Two First Articles mentioned by Mr. *Townsend* I do likewise attest. To which Mr. *Whiston* at the same time added, That all the Old Books of our Religion witnessed the same; or Words to that Effect.

J. AMYAS.

I do



I do declare that at the same Place and Time I heard Mr. *Whiston* speak those Words above-mention'd by Mr. *Townsend*, or Words to that Effect.

Witness my Hand,  
 THO. MACRO.

Octob. 20. 1710.

*Memorand.* That at a Meeting of the Ministers concerning the Charity-Schools, at the Old Coffee-House in *Cambridge*, about *Michaelmas* last was Twelvemonth, Mr. *Townsend* making a Motion for the Removal of Mr. *Whiston* from the Stewardship, by reason of Heretical Tenets interspers'd in his Catechetical Lectures, Mr. *Whiston* enquir'd, What Tenets they might be? I reply'd, The Denial of the Divinity of the Son. He said, He own'd him as God. I ask'd, whether as God *ab aeterno*? He answered, No: Nor had any of the Fathers for the first Three Centuries.

At another Meeting about a Quarter of a Year since, on the Occasion, and at the Place above-mentioned, Mr. *Whiston* offered a Paper hereunto annexed, in Vindication of his Alteration of the Doxologies subjoined to Dr. *Brady's* Translation of the *Psalms*; a Part whereof he was authoriz'd to Print, for the Use of the Charity-Schools. He having asserted his Alteration to be such as we might all join in, ( as in the Paper is specified ) I ask'd him whether he could not join with us in this,

{ To Father, Son, and holy Ghost,  
 { One God, whom we Adore.

He reply'd, He would be a *Turk* as soon.

These several Depositions I am ready to Confirm by Oath.

W. THACKHAM.

*N.B.* The Paper referr'd to in this last Deposition is that inserted toward the end of the foregoing Historical

## 6      A P P E N D I X.

Preface. And Observe, that the last vehement Expression of mine, *That I would be a Turk assoon*, was, to the best of my Remembrance, followed by these Words, or others to the same Effect, which are omitted by Mr. *Thackbam*; viz. That is a rash Expression: But I mean, that this Language is so entirely contrary to the Nature of the Christian Religion, that I cannot go into it for any Consideration whatsoever.

Some time after these Depositions were read, I desired to know when it was a proper time to give in my Answer: Which when it was intimated, I publicly read this Paper, and delivered it in as follows, *Verbatim*.

*Mr. Vicechancellor,*

Saving to my self all future Legal Advantages, either as to the Jurisdiction of this Consistory, to the Form of Proceedings therein, or to any other Matters whatsoever; I do now desire that I may have a true Copy of the Statute upon which I am charg'd, and of the Articles and Depositions given me. I do also desire a competent Time may be allow'd me for making my Defence; which is never deny'd in Cases of this Nature: And that I may have Leave, tho' it be *Term-time*, to go to *London* for some Weeks, where those my Papers are out of which my Defence is in good part to be made: Especially since I intend that that Defence shall be very full and particular, and drawn up by the best Advice. And I cannot but beg and hope that you will all hear and consider what I shall have hereafter to offer in my Answer with that Justice, Equity and Candor, which the Laws, of Nature, of the Gospel, and of the Land require; and particularly in so important a Cause, concerning the True Christian Faith and Practice; which your selves would expect to be heard with in the like Case; and which the Certainty of all our Appearing before  
Christ's



Christ's own Tribunal at the Great Day does demand from you.

Camb. Octob. 23. 1710:

W. WHISTON.

Here follows also a true Copy of that 45th Statute of the University, upon which all these Proceedings were grounded.

CAP. XLV. De Concionibus.

*Nullus Concionator sit, vel aliquam concionem pro gradu suo habeat, nisi ad minimum Diaconus sit. Octavo Maij ad Henrici VII. commendationem sacra concio sit, quam Regius in Theologia Professor faciet. Pridie uniuscujusque Termini concio Latina hora nona antemeridiana in Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ habeatur. Primo Termino anni concionabitur Regius Professor in Theologia: Secundo Professor Domine Margaritæ: Tertio Concionator Academia. Unquoque die dominico de anno in curum conciones in Academia Templo fiant. Ordo itidem Collegiorum in concionibus servabitur quem in disputationibus præscripsimus, incipiendo à senioribus qui concionatores sunt in unaquaque combinatione, & sic progrediendo ad juniores. Qui cursum suum in concionando omiserit viginti solidis mulcabitur. Collegia pro singulis concionibus solvent Bedellis quatuor denarios; nisi quis pro gradu concionatur. Concionatores autem in concione sua utentur capitis usitato Nonregentis, sub pæna sex solidorum, & octo denariorum, quoties deliquerint. Prohibemus ne quisquam in concione aliqua, in loco communi tractando, in Lectionibus publicis, seu aliter publice infra Universitatem nostram quicquam doceat, tractet, vel defendat contra religionem, seu ejusdem aliquam partem in regno nostro publica autoritate receptam & stabilitam, aut contra aliquem statum, autoritatem, dignitatem, seu gradum vel ecclesiasticum vel civilem hujus regni nostri Angliæ, vel Hiberniæ. Qui contra fecerit errorem vel temeritatem suam Cancellarij*

*Jussu cum assensu majoris partis Præfectorum Collegiorum revocabit, & publice fatebitur. Quod si recusaverit, aut non humiliter eo modo quo præscribitur perfecerit, eadem auctoritate à Collegio suo perpetuo excudetur, & Universitate exulabit.*

But to go on with my Narrative.

After I had deliver'd my Paper, desiring Copies of the Statute, and of the Depositions, and competent Time for my Answer; the former Parts were readily granted me, but the Third much debated. I desired six Weeks Time, as not too long in a Matter of such great Importance; and gave particular Reasons for it. I also assured them, that the main of that Answer would not be what they so much, and often, and earnestly fear'd and caution'd against, the producing my Original Testimonies in way of Justification of my Opinions; but would principally turn on those very Two Heads Mr. Vicechancellor propos'd as proper for it; *viz.* the shewing that my Doctrines were either not truly and compleatly represented, or were not so contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* as the Vicechancellor and some others imagin'd. I was answer'd, that this Consistory-Court used not to allow so long Time as those at *Westminster*; and they were by no means willing to allow any considerable Time. However, the Master of *Jesus* was for a competent Time, that I might send for my Papers from *London*. And somebody hinted as if a Week was more usually the Time afforded in this Consistory. The Master of *Peterhouse*, tho' he did not own the Necessity of a very long Time, yet confess'd that I must have Time allow'd me for my Answer. Accordingly I fully expected such Allowance. And when the Master of *Peterhouse* left them, it seems, a Week's Time was intended for that Answer. But all this notwithstanding, when I was finally call'd in, that Master being gone, I heard



I heard not a Syllable more about it ; but was immediately order'd to appear again on *Wednesday*, to receive the main Charge, (of which presently ;) and for other farther Proceedings. And when I once spake of going to *London* for Advice or Assistance, the Master of *Emanuel* said, It was fit I should go live elsewhere, and remove from *Cambridge*, since I had there perverted some already. The Masters of *Sidney* and *Pembroke* not only seem'd to grudge the least Delay for my Answer, but would needs tell me what an Answer I was to make. I reply'd, that I should not ask their Advice for the making that Answer, but use my own Judgment. Nay, when the Master of *Jesus* plainly own'd the Reasonableness of some considerable Time for my Answer, the Master of *Pembroke* seem'd very angry at him for it. Yet when I once, with some Vehemence, said, "There has somewhat been alledg'd here, which I am surpriz'd to find so many Clergymen to say"; meaning their Assertion, That the Three Persons collectively taken, were the One God of the Christian Religion, and not God the Father; contrary to all manner of Sacred and Primitive Language; no Notice was taken of it at all. But to go on with the main Narrative. Upon a Second Summons, I appear'd again on *Wednesday*, *Octob. 25th*. But now in a lower ParLOUR of the same Lodge, none being present but my Judges, as before. Dr. *Covel* and Dr. *Richardson* being now absent; and Dr. *Gower*, Master of *St. John's*, the Lady *Margaret's* Professor, present in their Room. When I appear'd, expecting the allowance of Time, not only for my main Answer, but for the clearing the Exceptions I had to make to their Evidence and Proceedings; instead thereof, I had only the fore-mentioned Paper of the main Charge given me, and a solemn Admonition therewith to leave my Errors, and return to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, or else on *Monday* they would proceed

proceed to execute the Statute upon me. Only I was allowed to read and deliver in what I had prepared as an Answer so far; or as my Complaints of, and Exceptions against their Proceedings. These two Papers, the first deliver'd to me, and the second by me, here follow, *verbatim*.

*Positions published and spread about in the University of Cambridge by Mr. Will. Whiston, contra Religionem, &c. Stat. Acad. 45.*

*Vid. Postscript thro'out. Vid. Sermons and Essays, &c. p. 213. l. 19. to 23. p. 215. l. 3. 4, 5, 6, 7. l. 9. 10, 11. 26 to 30. Mr. Thackham's Depof. Mr. Hughes Depof. Mr. Tomufend, Mr. Macro, and Mr. Amyas Depositions. Vid. Serm. and Essays, p. 276. l. 21. to p. 278. l. 6.*

(1) — That the Father alone is the One God of the Christian Religion, in opposition to the Three Divine Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being the One God of the Christian Religion.

This Position is contrary to the 1, 2, and 5th, of the 39 Articles, and to the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* Creeds.

2 — That the Creed commonly call'd the Creed of *St. Athanasius* is a gross and Antichristian Innovation and Corruption of the Primitive Purity and Simplicity of the Christian Faith among us.

This Position is contrary to the Rubrick before the said Creed, and the 8th Article.

*Vid. Serm. and Essays, &c. Note (1) p. 296.*

3 — That the Canon of the Scripture, the Rule and Guide of a Christian's Faith and Practice, is that contain'd in the last of the Ecclesiastical Canons, ordinarily stil'd Apostolical: Which all along appears to have been the Standard of the Primitive Church in this matter. I mean as including all the Books we now own for Canonical, and also the two Epistles of *St. Clement*, and the Constitutions of the



the Apostles by St. *Clement*: To which the Pastor of *Hermas* is to be added; as well as we have already added the Apocalypse of St. *John*.

That the *Doctrine of the Apostles* appears to be a Sacred Book of the New Testament, long lost to the Christian Church.

Proposals, &c. 1 Side  
Vol. III. l. 10.

These Two Positions are contrary to the Sixth of the 39 Articles.

Mr. *Whiston* undertakes to prove clearly, that the Apostolical Constitutions are the most Sacred part of the Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament.

Proposals, first Side  
Vol. II.

Mr. *Whiston* asserts, that the Doxology, current in all these latter Ages, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, was not the true Christian Doxology.

Vid. Postscript, p. 47.  
l. ult.

Vid. *Thackham* his Deposition.

This Position is against the Doxology receiv'd and establish'd in the publick Liturgy.

Dated Octob. 25. 1710.

This Paper was deliver'd to Mr. *Whiston* the Day and Year above-written by Mr. Vicechancellor's Order.

Witness my Hand,

*Robert Grove.*

*My Answer: Or Complaints of, and Exceptions to these Proceedings; deliver'd in the same Day.*

Mr. Vicechancellor,

The Accusation which now lies against me in this Place gives me but too much occasion both for *Surprize* and *Complaint*. For truly, I cannot but be surpriz'd, that after all my Care and Concern to de-

mean

mean my self honestly and inoffensively both before God and Men, and to discharge my several Duties as a Man, a Christian, a Clergyman, and a Professor of the Mathematicks in this University; after an uncommon Search after, and Zeal for the pure, original, uncorrupt Doctrines and Duties of Christianity, as they appear in the Sacred Books of the Old and New Testament, and in all the most Ancient and Primitive Fathers; and yet, as far as possible, with a constant and regular Compliance with the Rules and Orders of the Church of *England*; after my earnest Endeavours to recover and retrieve several of the Original Sacred Books of our Religion, long lost, or despis'd, or neglected in these latter Ages, at least in these Western Parts of *Christendom*; and after such great Success in those and my other Enquiries, that of all the many Learned Persons who have perus'd my Papers not any one of them has undertaken to write an Answer to them: After all this, I say, I cannot but be surpriz'd, that without sending for any of those Papers, or at all examining them; and without allowing me any publick Conference or Disputation about the Notions contained in them; while every one else is permitted, if not encouraged to preach and dispute against me upon all occasions, I am forced to stand here as an Offender, and a Criminal on Account of them. *Nicodemus*, tho' so timorous as to come to Jesus by Night only, yet ventured to say in the midst of the Rulers of the *Jews*, *Doth our Law judge any Man before it hear him, and know what he doth?* And certainly, 'tis not consistent with common Justice, with the Nature of the Christian Doctrine, nor with the Honour of this Learned Body, to censure or condemn either me or my Opinions, till upon a mature and solemn Examination it plainly appears, that those Opinions are not only false but groundless; and by Consequence, that I am grossly



grossly mistaken in them, and ought to retract them. And give me leave to say, that this Method of Conference and Examination is that which ought always to be, and has ordinarily been used in such Cases. Nor has it, I suppose, been any where denyed among those that call themselves Christians, but in the Popish Inquisition it self. And this is certainly the only way to influence reasonable Men in such Matters. And as to my self, I promise, that it shall influence me, even to perpetual Silence, and the burning my own Papers, if the contrary Doctrines can produce but one Tenth Part of that Evidence, that Original Evidence which I shall then alledge for what I shall there defend. Nor will any other Method at all weigh with me as to my Faith or Practice. For I dare say you are all persuaded that I am not so insincere or fearful, as to retract or renounce any thing, which, upon full Examination, I am really persuaded to be either a Truth or a Duty of the Christian Religion, out of the Apprehension of what any such Tribunal as this can inflict upon me. Permit me, Mr. Vicechancellor, to say farther, that this Way of Conference and Examination is that very Method which is mark'd out by an Ancient and Famous Precedent, when this very Statute now before you was first us'd: I mean the Case of Professor *Cartwright*, in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*: whom Archbishop *Whitgift*, the then Vicechancellor, and the University, would not proceed against till they had invited him to a Conference, and that in writing, in order to his Conviction: but which he refused, and was thereupon censur'd and expell'd: As the Authentick Record, a Copy of which is hereunto annex'd, will testify. The Case is here quite otherwise. I am not only willing to accept of any such Invitation, but do here solemnly Invite the University to this Conference and Examination. Nay, I Demand it, as the Right of the  
Sacred

Sacred Truths of Christianity, and what this Learned Body, cannot either in Equity, or Honour deny, that I be thus heard, and my Papers fairly and fully examin'd, before any farther Proceedings be had in this Matter. And to encourage your Acceptance of this Proposal, I do sincerely declare, that I will have no regard therein to Victory or Triumph; but will alone seek for Truth, and genuine Christianity. For God is my Witness, that I am very unwilling to be in the least deceiv'd my self, or to deceive the Church of Christ: And that I am always very desirous of the Opportunity of improving and correcting my Notions and Papers, that so the least Syllable of the Truths of Christ Jesus may not receive any Diminution or Misrepresentation by me, when my Papers come to be published.

But then, Mr. Vicechancellor, besides my *Surprize* at the several things above-mention'd, with Relation to this Proceedure, I think I have great Reason for *Complaint* on many Accounts also. Accordingly I must here take the Liberty to *complain*, That Matters have a long while been very unfairly and clancularly manag'd against me: That during the last two Years and above half, wherein it has been known that I have been upon those Enquiries whence the present Accusation is taken, No Vicechancellor, no publick Professor, not any one of those in Authority here, which are known to be the most disatisfy'd, have ever sent for me and my Papers, and discoursed me freely, or given me a Friendly Caution about them. I think I have also Reason to complain, that so many and such improper Ways have been try'd to procure some Censure upon me; as if I were such a publick Enemy, that all the Methods that could be thought of were to be used for my Destruction. Once a *Grace* of the Senate House was to be procur'd for my Expulsion, without my being heard at all. When  
that



that did not do, I have, as I hear, been threaten'd with the Ecclesiastical Court, and with the Assizes. Then Advice was taken, whether I could not with safety be legally convicted of Heresy, and so be expell'd by Mr. *Lucas's* Statutes. And now a remote University Statute, not at all in its main and Original Design, as I conceive, reaching my Case; and such an one as, if strain'd to the same Rigor as to others, might expel, I believe, much the greatest part of the University, is at last produc'd against me. This Statute is *De Concionibus*, concerning publick Sermons, and such like Publick Acts and Lectures before the University. How can this Statute possibly reach me? since I never had the Honour to preach before the University in my Life. I never kept any Divinity Act, or oppos'd in the Divinity Schools since I was admitted. My Publick Lectures have been all Mathematical; and being most of them printed, will shew how remote they have been from any things of this Nature. This Statute must therefore be strain'd beyond all reasonable Construction e're it can affect me. I have indeed formerly had an Afternoon Lecture in the Town of *Cambridge*, by the Bishop's sole Permission, and upon his sole Salary. But 'tis the Opinion of the best Judges, that whatever I said there, can no way be us'd to my Prejudice in this Place. The Parish Churches, at least ordinarily, when none but the Inhabitants are suppos'd to be present, being certainly under no other Cognizance than of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. And accordingly, one Person of this University about a Year and a half ago did once make some Complaint to our Diocesan, for what happen'd in one of those Churches; who thereupon appointed us to appear before him at a certain Hour the next day: I came at the Hour appointed, and stay'd about an Hour, expecting my Accuser; but he did not come till the Bishop and my self were both gone: Which hindred  
any

any farther Proceedings. And sure I cannot be accus'd both before the Bishop, and before this Consistory for the same pretended Offences, in the same Parish Church. I do therefore insist upon it, that the true Extent of this Statute may be fully consider'd, before any thing be done against me by virtue of it. As also I desire it may be consider'd, whether Words pretended to be spoken so long ago; especially where the Time is either not specify'd at all, or not nearer than that of a whole Year's space, can be admitted against me: And whether Books published at *London*, and private Discourses elsewhere, can come within the reach of this Statute; where the Offences punishable by it must be committed not only *infra Universitatem nostram*, in a Place belonging to the University, but must be done *publicè docendo, tractando, vel defendendo*, in publick and solemn Sermons, Lectures, or Disputations before the same University. I do also complain that the Chancellor of the University has not, as I believe, been acquainted with this Matter; when the Statute says all the Proceedings upon it are to be *Cancellarii jussu*. And tho' in ordinary Affairs the Vicechancellor may have Authority enough to act for the Chancellor, and may well enough exercise that Authority, yet certainly in a case of so uncommon a Nature, and of such mighty Consequence; [the like whereto I will be bold to say never before came into the Consistory;] it was but reasonable that the Chancellor himself should be acquainted, and his Directions receiv'd, before any Proceedings should have been begun by the University. I do also complain that the Accusations or Depositions against me relate generally to Things long since past and gone, without the pretence of any new Offences; unless the Civility of sending some inoffensive Proposals to any of you can be esteem'd of that Nature. I hope I may well call them *inoffensive*, since they plainly are such, and will appear  
such



such to every Christian Reader that peruses them. I have also, I think, great Reason to complain that I am, as it were, by this Procedure prevented in my honest Design, recommended to me by a very learned and pious Prelate of our own Church, and readily agreed to by me, of laying all my Papers before the Convocation, which is almost now ready to sit, for their Consideration and Correction. Sure the University will never suppose, or believe, that the Convocation will censure without Examination; nor is the University to prejudge a Cause which most properly belongs to the Cognizance and Judgment of the Convocation. I do also complain that I have been so exceeding privately conven'd, and particularly interrogated; and not in the Consistory before the University; where all that desir'd might have been present, and I might have had such Assistance as Law and Equity do allow. As if some Men's Hopes of oppressing me arose rather from the Prospect of the Terror I should be under in such Circumstances, and the unwary Answers I should thereupon make, than from the Strength of the Evidence and the Notoriety of the Offences I could be prov'd to be guilty of. I do, lastly, complain, that as I am inform'd, such a sort of Determination has been lately made about the Sense of that Statute whereby I am charg'd, as might best reach my Case, before I have been any way heard, or any legal Advice has been taken concerning the true Extent and Meaning of it; contrary, I think, to the plain Rules of Justice and Equity in such a Case.

These, Mr. Vicechancellor, are the principal Occasions of that *Surprize* and *Complaint* which I at first mention'd. Not that they all directly affect your selves; from whom I am willing to hope for nothing but Fairness, Justice and Equity; but because they all belong to some Members of this University. And, for a Conclusion, give me leave to say, that

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these

these Matters are of such mighty Consequence, they are become so very Publick, and the Fairness and Necessity of a solemn Examination are so generally own'd by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of those learned Men of all Parties who have perused my Papers, that if the Proceeding in this Matter here be with Haste, Precipitation, and Severity, those that act in it, will not only wound their own Consciences, commit an heinous Offence against God, and thereby expose themselves to severe Punishment from his hand, but there will hereby be laid a lasting, an indelible Blot and Reproach upon the University; as undertaking rashly and violently to punish me, before it appears that I am at all guilty of any Offence to deserve that Punishment: While at the same time I shall not only have the Comfort of an innocent Conscience for my Support, but shall also have the Expectation of speedy Relief and Redress from the known Justice and Equity of those who represent Her Sacred Majesty in Her Courts of Judicature; to which in that Case I shall be obliged immediately to appeal.

Saving therefore to my self the liberty of making any other future Exceptions to these Proceedings against me, The Principal ones that I make at present are these: I say,

(1.) That I am charged with breaking that 45th Statute which I have been incapable of breaking, because it only concerns such publick University Exercises as I have never perform'd.

(2.) That the Place where most of the Words are pretended to have been spoken, *St. Clements Church*, is utterly out of the Jurisdiction of the University, and so no ways within this Statute.

(3.) That the want of the Specification of the Time, or the too loose Specification of it, renders most of the Depositions of no value.

(5.) That



(4.) That Words charged at so great a distance of time, cannot be sworn to so particularly as is necessary to affect me.

(5.) That Words spoken in private Conversation, or at a Coffee-house, or [written] in a private Letter, can no way be within this Statute.

(6.) That no Books printed and published at *London* can be within this Statute.

(7.) That I ought to have been conven'd publickly in the Consistory, and Evidence fairly there produced against me in an open Court; and not privately in a Chamber been ask'd many ensnaring Questions, with the exclusion of even a single Friend, who was willing to have been there to assist and direct me.

(8.) That any prior Determination of the Sense of this Statute, before I have had Council allowed me, or legal Advice taken about its true extent and meaning, is of no Force at all against me.

And I desire and demand that I may have Time given me, and Council allow'd me to argue the Validity of these Exceptions.

Octob. 25. 1710.

WILL. WHISTON.

N. B. The Record herein referred to about Professor *Cartwright*, is taken out of Dr. *Fuller's* History of the University of *Cambridge*, Page 142. and runs thus; Whereas it is reported, that Master *Cartwright*, offering Disputations and Conference, touching the Assertions uttered by him, and subscribed with his hand, and that he could not obtain his Request therein; this is to Testify, that in the presence of us, whose Names are here underwritten, and in our hearing, the said Mr. *Cartwright* was offered Conference of divers; and namely of

*Ann. Reg. Eliz. 12.*

*Ann. Dom. 1578.*

*March 18.*

Mr. Doctor *Whitgift*, who offered, That if the said Mr. *Cartwright* would set down his Assertions in writing, and his Reasons unto them, he would answer the same in writing also; the which Master *Cartwright* refus'd to do. Further, the said Dr. *Whitgift* at such time as Mr. *Cartwright* was deprived of his Lecture, did in our presence ask the said Mr. *Cartwright*, whether he had both publickly, and privately divers times offer'd the same Conference unto him, by writing, or not: To which Mr. *Cartwright* answered, That he had been so offered, and that he refused the same. Moreover the said Mr. *Cartwright* did never offer any disputation but upon these Conditions: *viz* That he might know who should be his Adversaries, and who should be his Judges; meaning, such Judges as he himself could best like of. Neither was this kind of Disputation deny'd unto him, but only he was required to obtain License of the Queens Majesty or the Council, because his Assertions be repugnant to the State of the Commonwealth, which may not be called into Question by publick Disputation without License of the Prince or his Highness's Council.

<i>John Whitgift,</i>	Vicechancellor,	<i>Andrew Pearne.</i>
<i>John Mey,</i>		<i>William Chadderton.</i>
<i>Henry Harvey,</i>		<i>Edward Hawford,</i>
<i>Thomas B - - - -</i>		<i>Thomas F - - - .</i>

[Note, Dr. Fuller says }  
that this Instrument is Re- }  
gistered in Cambridge.]

When I had read and delivered in this Second Paper, I expected some Answer thereto, and some legal Notice to have been taken of it. But all to no purpose: The Torrent was too strong to be stopp'd by any such Methods. The Vicechancellor pretended,  
(without



(without the least regard to what I had said,) that they were agreed that the Positions charged upon me were both plainly contrary to the Churches Doctrine; and were sufficiently prov'd against me; and so they would proceed. I thereupon boldly desired to know, whether every one there present, (for they were then the least Number possible that could act in such a Case) had entirely agreed to both these Propositions? And particularly ask'd Sir *John Ellis's* Opinion. He answer'd, that he agreed that the Paper deliver'd to me contain'd Doctrines contrary to those of the Church of *England*: But whether they had sufficiently prov'd that those Doctrines were chargeable upon me, he did not determine, but left that to others. Yet did they proceed as if Sir *John* had equally agreed to both those Particulars; which 'tis certain he did not, and that he declared he did not: tho he had hardly leave given him to finish that his Declaration. I was then very gravely and solemnly admonished again by the Vicechancellor to leave my Errors, and return to the Church of *England*, or else he let me know, that on *Monday* at three a Clock, they would proceed to execute the Statute against me; without the least intimation of allowing me so much as one Hours time to answer the Charge, which not till now was properly delivered to me. As to my desire of Conference and fair Examination, the Vicechancellor said, that the *Regius* Professor might take me to his Lodgings and discourse with me if he pleased; to which no Answer was returned by any Body. The Lady *Margaret's* Professor also once upbraided me, as if I deny'd things there which elsewhere I asserted; which he look'd on as no Argument of that Sincerity I pretended to. Upon this I openly desir'd not to be misunderstood, but that I only requir'd Legal Proof for what was alledged against me, without being ensnared by their Questions, and without affirming or denying any thing

my self about them. Whereupon he said no more of that Matter. And the *Regius* Professor, who understood me so all along, did me the Justice to put that Matter right, and to explain in what Sense he suppos'd I did not now own or assert any of the things charged upon me. To which I fully assented; and so that Imputation came to nothing. The *Margaret* Professor farther told me, when I insisted on *Examination* before *Censure*, that I knew well enough, that when Hereticks arose, it was not usual to argue with them, but to quote some Canon of a Council which condemned them, and so to Anathematize them immediately. I said to him; but suppose that what I said about the Apostolical Constitutions, &c. should at last prove to be true? He replied, If so, he would come and heartily beg my Pardon. The Master of *Jesus* thought time might be allowed me for my Answer. But so earnest and vehement was the Vicechancellor in his Proceedings, that all such Motions came to nothing. The same Master of *Jesus* also ask'd me why I called the Constitutions *The most Sacred Book* of the New Testament? I answered, because they really were so, and were so esteemed in the first Ages. I also said to him, that they would repent their Severity to me: And that if he had been by, when Dr. *Smalridge* (who had read my Papers, and of whom I believed he had a very good Opinion) and my self lately discoursed upon these Matters, he would scarce have been against their Examination before they censured me on Account of them. Upon which he owned that he had himself also seen some of my Papers: which I suppose was some time ago, when Mr. *Hughes*, and Mr. *Townsend* of the same College had the perusal of them; I mean those which concern the Trinity and Incarnation only. But finding the Master of *Sidney* exceeding hot against me,

I said



I said to him, that I believed he had not studied these Matters. He grew passionate, and said, *That was my Impudence.* I said, I meant particularly as to the Constitutions. He reply'd, that he had read them; but however that he knew my Assertions were contrary to those of the Church of *England*: Which indeed he all along confin'd himself to: insomuch that when on *Monday* the Vicechancellor had said, with some Moderation, that my Tenets were *Erroneous*, and *contrary to the Churches Doctrine*, and that therefore I ought to retract them; and I had reply'd, let them be but once prov'd to be *Erroneous*, and I was most ready to retract them; the Master of *Sidney*, at whose Elbow I stood, told me, they did not mean *Erroneous*, but *contrary to the Doctrine of the Church.* Nay, when I said to them, Will you condemn or censure while none either *will*, or *dare* answer me? Somebody that was offended at that last Word, reply'd, *dare?* But without any farther Addition. And indeed great Care was all along taken that the Truth or Falshood of my Doctrines should be wholly wav'd, and all set upon their contrariety to those of the Church of *England*, without so much as a pretence that any Body would answer the Arguments and Testimonies which I had to produce for them. It was once urged, that my affirming the *Constitutions* and *Doctrine of the Apostles* to be Sacred Books of the New Testament, was contrary to the Sixth Article of our Church. I desir'd that Article might be read: which was done by the Master of *Pembroke*. I said thereupon, 'Tis plain that this Article owns the present Sacred Books, being all the Church then knew; and that had they known of more, they would have set them down also: but that 'tis not affirmed in that Article that there are no other than those, and so my Assertion is not contrary thereto. Yet did this pass as a clear Contradiction to it. And no wonder; when in the Paper given me from the Vicechancellor, the

very *Nicene Creed* is it self quoted as condemning my calling God the Father the *One God of the Christian Religion*, while yet that Creed begins with a direct and solemn Affirmation of it; *I believe in One God the Father, Almighty.* After all, when the Vice-chancellor perceiv'd that I began to draw some of the Heads into Arguing and Reasoning about these Matters, he took one of the Candles himself, and saying a few things to me about a Recantation, which I declar'd I could not make with a safe Conscience, he said, he pitied me, and then he fairly conducted me out of the Lodge. And so I took my leave: having before hinted to them, that I did not design to wait on them any more about these Matters, but to leave them to do as they pleas'd therein. Which Resolution I kept till *Monday* accordingly. For when on *Sunday* I was again summon'd by Mr. *Atwood*, to appear the next Day at three a Clock, I made this Answer, That I saw no occasion for appearing any more. However, for some Reasons, I afterward alter'd my Mind, and came, and appeared again on *Monday*, in a lower Room of the same Lodge, before the Heads, who were now Twelve in Number, whose Names will be set down presently. And upon Mr. Vicechancellor's enquiring of me, whether I came dispos'd to make a Retraction of those my Errors concerning which he had before admonish'd me? Upon Leave given, I read the following Paper, as my Answer; and deliver'd it in as follows, *verbatim.*

*Mr. Vicechancellor,*

I did not think to have appear'd to Day at all, because I understood that this Meeting was appointed only for my Retraction; for which I have neither had any considerable Time, nor any proper Motives for Conviction afforded me; and so to be sure I cannot be dispos'd for any such thing. Nay, indeed



I cannot allow that any Doctrines contrary to those of the Church of *England*, and within your Cognizance by the 45<sup>th</sup>. Statute, have been Legally prov'd upon me. However, I have thought fit to appear according to the Summons given me Yesterday. What I have at present to Alledge against these Proceedings, besides my former Exceptions, is, That the *Advice for the Study of Divinity* quoted against me, was written about *February 1707*. and that the Depositions as to what I said in *St. Clement's Church*, belong to the Year 1708. and that if I committed any Offences in either Case, they are fully and compleatly forgiven by the last Act of Her Majesty's most Gracious, General, and Free Pardon: Which therefore I do here plead, in Bar to all farther Proceedings. And I do think the Molestation already given me, is Penal by that Act. As to Part of *Mr. Thackbam's* Deposition, which may seem to be a little later than that Act, it is not at all charg'd upon me in the Paper deliver'd to me as the whole Charge against me; and so is of no force at all. And as to the remaining Charges, that from the other Part of *Mr. Thackbam's* Deposition, is only that I would not use a Doxology which our Church, I think, never uses, nor enjoins; and which stands on the alone Footing of *Dr. Brady* and *Mr. Tate*, or such-like Private Persons. And the other, concerning the stiling God the Father **the One and Only God**, 'tis so expressly the Language of our Church in the *Nicene Creed*, and in the Collect for the 18<sup>th</sup>. Sunday after *Trinity*, that I am surpriz'd at its being in this manner alledg'd against me. But since you have given no time for the Examination of my Legal Exceptions, nor for my own Answer, I publickly Protest against your Proceedings; and desire that my Protestation may be entred into the Records of the University.

Octob. 30.

1710.

WILL. WHISTON.

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As soon as I had delivered this Paper, and had owned to the Vicechancellor that it contained all that I had to say at present, I took my Leave. Whereupon, the Vicechancellor and the Heads soon came to a Resolution to Banish or Expel me; as the following Publick Act will inform the Reader: A true Copy of which shall be here set down.

October 30th. 1710.

*At a Meeting of Mr. Vicechancellor, and the Heads of Colleges in the University of Cambridge, in the Vicechancellor's Chamber, in King's College, in the said University.*

Whereas it hath been proved before Us, That *William Whiston*, Master of Arts, Mathematick Professor of this University, hath asserted and spread about in *Cambridge*, since the 19th. Day of *April*, 1709. divers Tenets against Religion, receiv'd and establish'd by Publick Authority in this Realm, contrary to the Forty Fifth Statute of this University; And whereas the said *William Whiston* being required and exhorted by Mr. Vicechancellor, to confess and retract his Error and Temerity in so doing, did refuse to make any such Confession and Retraction; It is therefore agreed and resolv'd by Us, the Vicechancellor, and Heads of Colleges, whose Names are here underwritten, that the said *William Whiston* hath incurred the Penalty of the foresaid Statute, and that he be Banished from this University according to the Tenor of the same. C. Roderick, Vicechancellor; Jo. Ellys, Humf. Gower, Hen. James, S. Blithe, Job. Covel, Jo. Balderston, Gabr. Quadring, Tho. Richardson, Ch. Ashton, Bardsey Fisher, Edw. Lany. Unde venerabilis vir Dr. Roderick, Dominus Procancellarius, assidentibus & consentientibus Johanne Ellys Milite, Doctore Gower, Doctore James, Doctore Blithe, Doctore Covel, Doctore Balderston, Doctore Quadring, Doctore Richardson, Doctore Ashton,



*Ashton, Doctore Fisher, Doctore Lany, Collegiorum Præfectis; sententiam ferendo decrevit, declaravit, & pronunciarvit prout sequitur. In the Name of God, Amen.*  
**I Charles Roderick, Vicechancellor of this University,** do decree, declare, and pronounce, that *Mr. William Whiston, Mathematick Professor of this University,* having asserted and spread abroad divers Tenets contrary to Religion receiv'd and establish'd by Publick Authority in this Realm, hath incurred the Penalty of the Statute, and that he is Banished from this University.

*Lata fuit hujusmodi sententia per dictum Dominum Pro-cancellarium, præsentem me Roberto Grove, Not. Pub. & Almæ Universitatis prædictæ Registrario.*

Now the Reader is here to Observe, that since all the Depositions concerning *St. Clement's Church* are here given up, as being long before the 19th of *April, 1709.* the Date for the Act of Pardon: Since the Passages quoted out of the *Advice for the Study of Divinity,* were written still earlier; and there is no Pretence of the least Evidence that I any way publish'd it in *Cambridge;* and since one Part of *Mr. Thackham's* Evidence is made no use of at all in this Matter, 'Tis plain that this Banishment or Expulsion is solely grounded on these Three Things. (1.) My affirming with our Saviour, *St. Paul,* the *Nicene,* and all the Original *John XVII. 3.*  
*Creeds,* and most ancient Fathers, *1 Cor. VIII. 6.*  
 that the *One and Only God of the Christians, is God the Father.* (2.) My Asserting an undoubted Matter of Fact, that the Original Christian Doxology was not the Common One, but *Glory be to the Father, through the Son, or, and the Son, in the Holy Ghost.* (3.) My Proposing to prove that the *Constitutions and Doctrine of the Apostles,* are Sacred Books of the New Testament; and the former of them, the most Sacred of the *Canonical Books:* Which in  
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time will appear to be undoubtedly true also. And all this is done without the least Offer at any Examination into the Truth or Falshood of the same Assertions, and so without knowing whether the whole Proceeding be not directly *Fighting against God*, and *Opposing and Persecuting the Gospel and Religion of Christ Jesus*. And if it prove so at last, the Authors had need to think of that timely Repentance and Retraction, which they requir'd at my Hands: Lest their present Authority, and Pretence of an University Statute, should be too little to excuse them at the Day of Judgment.

But who should be the secret Movers, or what should be the secret Reasons why, after so long a Forbearance, the Vicechancellor and the Heads should all on a sudden, in this violent manner, resolve to Censure and Expel me, is too deep a Mystery for me authentickly to dive into; and so I must leave it to another Tribunal. For certainly it could not be the Vicechancellor's own Motion originally; since he had forborn me all along, and was now in a manner out of his Office, and was ever remarkable for Caution and Deliberation in all his Proceedings: Especially when I suppose that neither himself, nor indeed the Major Part of his Assessors, do at all pretend to have particularly Examined the Matters themselves, concerning which they took upon them to be Judges; but went plainly at Random, by their own Interpretation of an Old Statute, to Persecute an Innocent Person for the sake of what they rashly call *Orthodoxy*. I venture to stile my self an *Innocent Person*, notwithstanding this their Sentence against me; because I believe that every one of my Judges acquits me in his own Conscience, from any base or sinister Design; and is satisfy'd, that I did no other than what is certainly every Christian's Duty; *viz.* The Declaring plainly what, upon the most compleat Examination, I was satisfy'd were the certain Truths



Truths and Duties of Christianity : For which yet, without such Examination, they have now ventur'd to Censure and Expel me. Which things I own I durst not have had a Hand in, in any like Case, for any Consideration whatsoever. But tho' they were my Judges, I am not theirs; To

*their own Master they must stand or* Rom. XIV. 4.

*fall.* And therefore I can only commit my Cause to God, the just Judge of all the World, and leave it in his righteous Hands to determine between us. However, I do heartily wish and hope, that as soon as my Papers are publish'd, they will still seriously consider them, and soberly reconsider this whole Matter ; and that their sincere Repentance and Retractation will prevent the Danger of any future Punishment from God upon them, from that God *who desireth not the Death of a Sinner, but his Repentance.*

Thus ended this University Prosecution and Banishment of me ; at least, this is all that has been done till the Date of these Papers ; without the least regard to Mr. *Lucas's* Statutes, or to my Mathematick Professorship depending thereon : And so without the direct affecting me as Mr. *Lucas's* Professor : How plainly soever they have depriv'd me of that Membership of the University, which till now, either by Right or by Courtesy, I was entitled to. So I shall go on no farther with this Narration. I say in the main, affecting me as Mr. *Lucas's* Professor only, meaning thereby that I claim still, notwithstanding this Expulsion or Banishment, to be Professor of the Mathematicks of Mr. *Lucas's* Foundation ; and have accordingly a just Right to the Profits thereof, upon my doing that Duty by a Deputy, (as my Statutes direct on a long Absence) which I cannot so well do in Person. Otherwise, this Expulsion must affect me sensibly enough, in respect of my Maintenance : Since the Allowance to a Deputy, and the Loss of  
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the Advantages formerly arising from the Courses of Experiments, to say nothing of those from Teaching privately in *Cambridge*, and the Charges and Losses of a Removal, cannot well be estimated under 50 *l.* a Year; which is a great Deduction out of a small Subsistence. Nay, there want not those who would strain this Expulsion from the University to a Deprivation, as to my Professorship, and so would deprive me of almost all, but what the Charity and Kindness of Friends might afford me. Which last Method of Support is also by some envied, and complained of before-hand. As if there were no way to satisfy their Zeal against me, but by seeing me and my Family reduc'd to the utmost Poverty and Distress, without a Friend to support and relieve me. But before I conclude, I can hardly avoid saying here, that I take the true Original Cause of this Severity to be plainly this, That I have written several *Unanswerable Books*; which are therefore a terrible Eye sore to those who are more concern'd for Modern Orthodoxy, and the pretended Power of the Church in Controversies of Faith, than for the pure and undefil'd Religion of Christ Jesus. So that when it appear'd, as it has done for a considerable time, that none of the Learned could or durst undertake the Answering me, in the way of Reason, Argument, and Testimony, This Method of Ensnaring me by an Old Statute was thought of. And I venture to say this, the rather because that Open, that *Unanswerable Challenge* I made in the *Postscript* of *Ignatius* to the Orthodox, to shew but one single Catholick Testimony before the Days of *Athanasius*, which affirm'd the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be *One God*, or *the One God* of the Christian Religion; while I promis'd above an hundred Testimonies in the same time, that God the Father was that *One God*, appears to have been the principal Evidence against me, and that which was most publickly and solemnly read to me by the Master of *Pembroke*; as  
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the main Article of my Charge; and for which chiefly, I am Censur'd and Expell'd. I call it an *Open* and an *Unanswerable* Challenge: And I here again make it to the whole Body of the *Christian* World; and do venture in the most solemn manner, to Appeal to the Consciences of all the truly Learned, whether what I have affirm'd on this Head, be not undoubtedly and indisputably true; and so whether I am not Censur'd and Expell'd, for owning my self a Christian; nay, I may add, for asserting the first and most Fundamental Doctrine of the whole Christian Religion. I know this repeated Challenge may be most easily Answer'd, in the same way that the former was, by a repeated Censure: For in any other way, I am sure it cannot. And if that be again put in Practice by any such-like Body of this Church, I shall only beg one Favour, That those who do it, will deal plainly, and declare that they are not, nor do pretend to be *Christians*, but *Members of the Church of England* only: Or at least, that they are just so far Christians, as the Original Doctrines, and Duties of Christianity, are agreeable to those that the XXXIX Articles, the Book of Homilies, and the Common-Prayer-Book contain, but no farther. And then it will be some small Satisfaction to have the World know, that as in Popish Countries Christianity is generally no farther believ'd and obey'd, than it is agreeable to the Decrees and Practices of the Church of *Rome*; so that in this Protestant, this Reform'd Country, the Case is the very same. Only with this Difference, that the former pretends to that Infallibility and Dominion over Conscience, which the latter disclaims; and by consequence, that the latter is, of the two, in this Matter, the most plainly unjustifiable and inexcusable. However, as to my being condemn'd for asserting what was undeniable and unanswerable, we have a famous Parallel Example in the Sacred History. For truly  
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just so it was in the Case of the Protomartyr St. Stephen, all due Allowance for the great difference of the Persons concern'd, and of their Circumstances, being still made. For when the *Jews* were not able

A& VI. 10, *to resist the Wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake,* they drew him into their Consistory, and Accus'd him there. And

when they could not find any fair Reply to the force of his Reasoning, *They were cut to the Heart, and gnashed upon him with their Teeth.* And immediately, without any other Formality of Law, put him to a

v. 57, 58. *violent Death. Then they cried out with a loud Voice, and stopped their Ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him*

*out of the City, and stoned him.* Whether this Violence towards me, may not end in some Attempts not very different from that Case, I cannot tell. However, I shall venture to use his dying Petition for all my Persecutors; *Lord, lay not this Sin to their Charge.*

But now, if, after all, the Reader be desirous to know what sort of Answer I should have made to the present Accusation, had I had competent time allow'd me, I shall plainly tell him in a few Words. I intended therein to have stated some of my Opinions more fully and clearly than the Evidence produc'd did inform my Judges: And in order to shew that then they were not so contrary to the Doctrine and Settlement of the Church of *England* as they suppos'd, I design'd to have insisted on such Heads as these:

To have shew'd,

(1.) That the Protestant Religion in general, and the Church of *England* in particular, were begun upon this Foot; I mean the Acknowledgment of the Churches Errors, and the Attempt for the Correction

of



of the same, even with the Hazard of the very Lives themselves of the Reformers.

(2.) That they are both built on the Foundation of the Holy Scriptures, and most Primitive Writers ; and always own that all Errors, when discover'd, are to be amended by those Original Standards.

(3.) That all Protestants, and particularly the Members of this Church, do unanimously own the Fallibility of all Councils and Churches ; and so cannot be surpriz'd, if, in Points never yet brought to a fair and publick Examination, some Errors be suppos'd still remaining among them.

(4.) That accordingly they have generally found Reason to alter their Opinions in several Doctrines of Consequence ; as our Church has in particular about the Predestinarian Points : Nay, they have generally, even our Church her self, found Reason to alter several Practices of Consequence also, since the time of the Reformation. And so it can seem no Wonder, if there should appear Occasion for the like farther Enquiries and Alterations at this Day.

(5.) That in the grand Point before us, that of the *Trinity* it self, Our Church sometimes speaks according to those ancient Notions which I advance ; nay, commonly Prays and Practises agreeably thereto. So that the Corrections I plead for would rather be the rendring the Church's Language and Practice all of a Piece, than the entire Subversion and Alteration of the same.

(6.) That the most Learned and Impartial, both Papists and Protestants, and those of our Church in particular, have in this last Age been forc'd to leave the vulgar Notions in that Matter, and to come still nearer and nearer to that most Primitive and Rational Account which I plead for. As appears by *Erasmus*, *Grotius*, *Petavius*, *Huetius*, *Dr. Cudworth*, *Bp. Pearson*, *Bp. Bull*, the *Bp. of Gloucester*, *Mr. Locke*, and many others. So that my Notions are so far

from New, that they are rather the proper and last Result of the Enquiries of the Learned since the Reformation.

(7.) That since I have taken all along the most Peaceable, Christian, and Inoffensive Methods of bringing these Important Points to a fair Examination; and have still laid my Papers before the Governors of the Church, and the Learned Members of it, for their Consideration, and the necessary Corrections; I have no way offended against the Laws of the Land, or even the Statutes of the University, as to their main Design and Intention; which can never be suppos'd to be the Punishment of an Honest and Innocent Man, when in so fair, quiet, and open a manner, he Proposes Sacred Books, Doctrines, and Duties of the Gospel, to the serious Consideration of the Christian World. However, if the Laws of the Kingdom, or Statutes of the University be so Expounded, as to forbid any thing that the Laws of God, and of the Gospel require, I know

Act. IV. 19,      which I am to obey. *Whether it be*  
20.      *right in the sight of God, to hearken unto*  
   *you more than unto God, judge ye. For we*  
   *cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.*

These were such Heads as I intended more largely and fully to have pursu'd, had I had time allow'd me for my Answer. But since I was not afforded that, I shall wave the farther Prosecution of them: And conclude, not only with the Declaration of the Readiness of my Submission to any Punishment, which my Governors in any sort do Legally inflict upon me; but with my hearty Thanks to the Divine Providence, which has dispos'd of me into this Kingdom of Freedom and Liberty, where 'tis not very much that by the Laws can be laid upon me for the sake of my Conscience: Where therefore with small Legal Hazard I can greatly promote the true Religion of Christ: And that I am not in *Spain* or *Portugal*, or the like



like Countries, subject to the Terror of a Popish Inquisition; wherein the speaking or writing a small Part of what I have here spoken and written, would certainly have condemned me to a loathsome Dungeon, and to an Ignominious Death. The utmost Severities of which I hope I should yet, by God's Grace, have endur'd, rather than have retracted and renounced what, upon such full and undoubted Evidence, I am entirely satisfy'd, is part of the Revelation of God by his Son Christ Jesus. *If any Man come to me, and hate not his Father, and Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Brethren, and Sisters, yea, and his own Life also, He cannot be my Disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his Cross, and come after me, cannot be my Disciple.* I End the whole with our Saviour's own Words, which in some small degree do now plainly belong to me; *Blessed are they which are persecuted for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Which Blessedness, I own I had rather have a Share in, than in all the dangerous and ensnaring Pomp of this Vain and Transitory World.

Decemb. 23.  
1710.

WILL. WHISTON.

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Decemb. 23. 1719.

Will. Whiston.

## ERRATA.

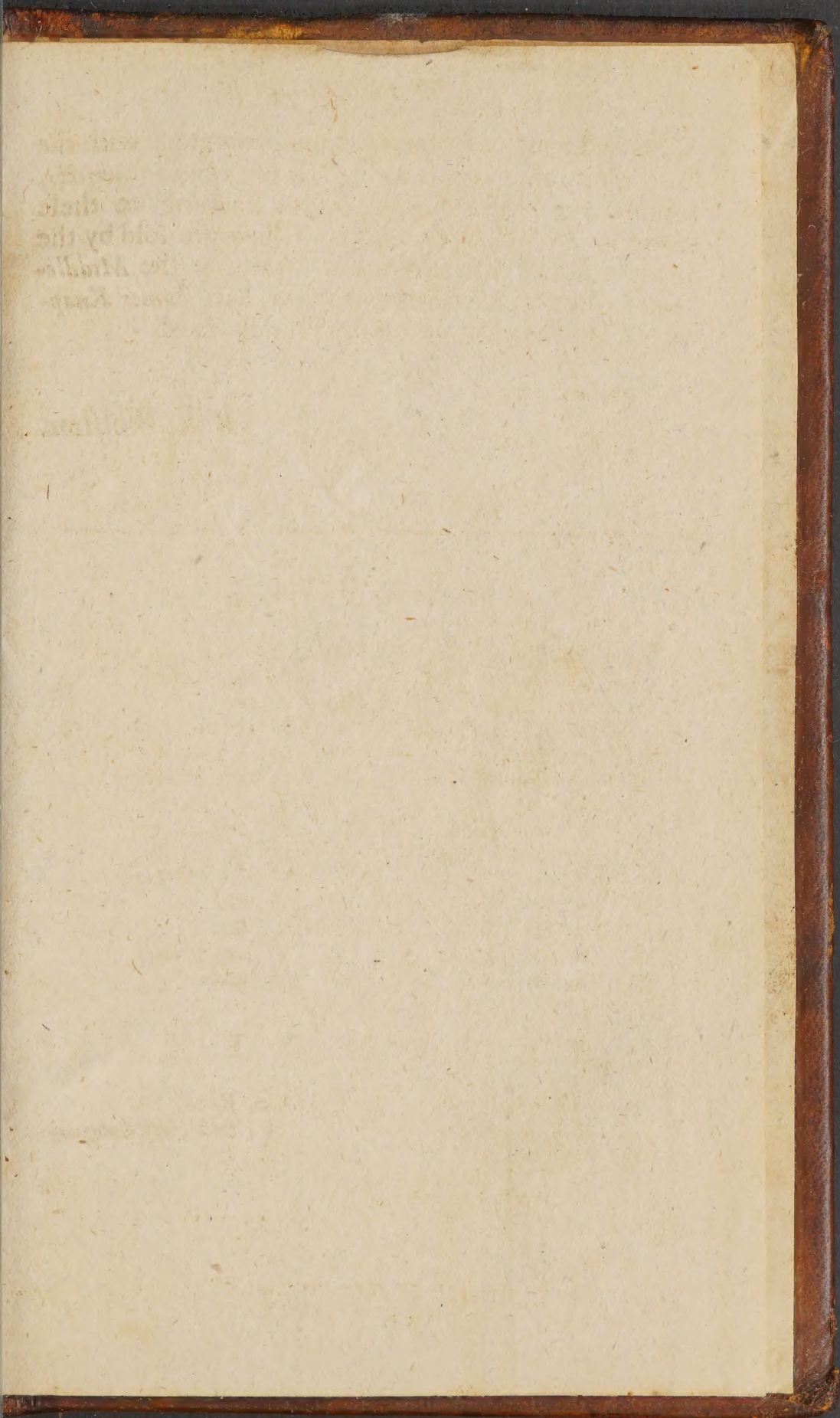
Pag.	Lin.	Read.	Pag.	Lin.	Read.
11	15	<i>the Socinians.</i>		26	<i>this Matter.</i>
12	11	<i>Occasion.</i>	53	1	<i>and 40.</i>
	32	<i>the Apostolical.</i>	20		<i>a Sheet.</i>
13	30	<i>Century.</i>	56	14	<i>the Doctors.</i>
14	4	<i>Consideration.</i>	59	5	<i>Dr. Grabe's.</i>
16	39	<i>this</i>	14		<i>Orthodox.</i>
25	27	<i>the Church.</i>	61	28	<i>Articles.</i>
31	29	<i>the Christian.</i>	63	26	<i>afterwards.</i>
43	12	<i>see it.</i>	29		<i>the Christian.</i>
44	6	<i>dele is.</i>	66	19	<i>Will.</i>
47	17	<i>that they.</i>	70	23	<i>Will.</i>
51	8	<i>Person.</i>	73	3	<i>considerable.</i>
	12	<i>is.</i>	78	31	<i>under.</i>

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Pag.	Lin.	Read.	Pag.	Lin.	Read.
2.	16.	<i>any other.</i>	9.	23.	<i>Doctrine &amp; Language.</i>
7.	3.	<i>will.</i>	16.	28.	<i>this.</i>

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